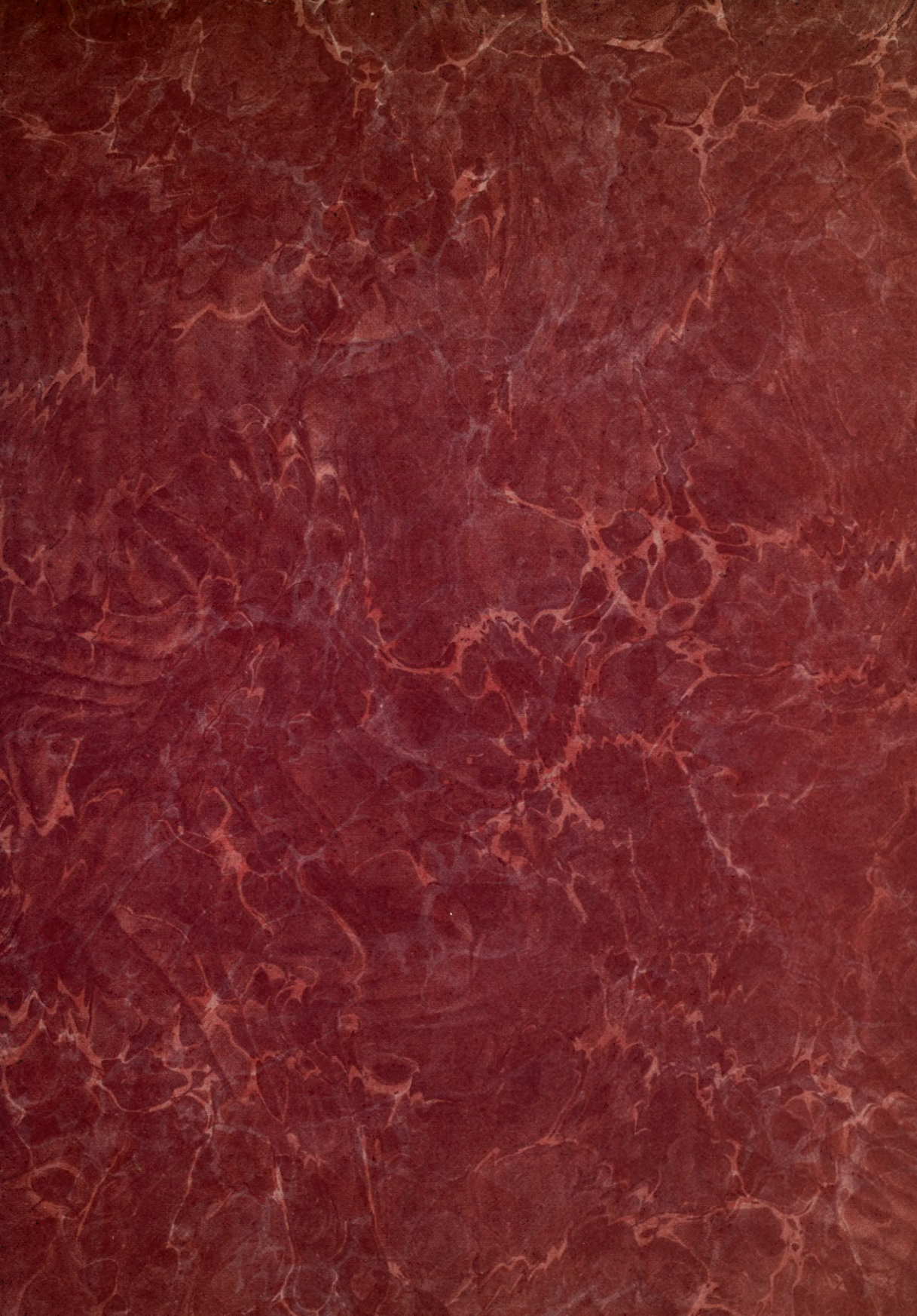


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VII.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
KING EDWARD VII.



From the Painting by W. H. Margeson.

HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.



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CASELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED
LONDON, NEW YORK, TORONTO AND MELBOURNE



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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

THE DISRUPTION OF THE UNIONISTS.

The Unionists in Power—A Programme of Social Amelioration—How it was Carried Out—The Aftermath of the War—The South African Mirage—The Fiscal System in Great Britain—Mr. Chamberlain and Preference—"Tariff Reform" on the Horizon—Mr. Balfour Defines his Position—The Country Becomes Interested—Two Historic Letters—Mr. Chamberlain Resigns—Some Cabinet Anomalies—"The Apostle of Fiscal Reform"—Stagnation at the Cape—The Question of Chinese Labour—Lively Debates in Parliament—Rumours of Dissolution—Mr. Balfour Resigns—A General Election : and its Result	PAGE 1
--	-----------

CHAPTER II.

THE UPHEAVAL OF 1906.

Christmas at Sandringham—King Edward Dissolves Parliament—Some Royal Tree Planting—The "Platforms" of the Parties—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Manifesto—An Election Incident—Items in Mr. Balfour's Address—Mr. Chamberlain's Line of Action—The Trade Union Group—What the Labour Candidates Said—The New Parliament Classified—The Apostle of Progress—The Socialistic Element—An Analysis of their Aims and Propaganda—Points in the Programme of the Independent Labour Party—The King Opens the New Parliament—The Speech from the Throne—Its Keynote of Sociological Betterment.	21
---	----

CHAPTER III.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH SETTLEMENT.

King Edward Visits France and Italy—Why the King went without Ministers—Sir Edmund Monson's Influence—King Edward as a Reconciler of Nations—Victor Emmanuel III. Visits Paris—The German Emperor in Rome—The European Situation in 1903—Exciting Times in Russia—A New Triple Alliance Mooted—England and France Adopt International Arbitration—The 1904 Agreement—Matters in Morocco—Their Effect on Egypt—Disappearance of the Dual Control—King Edward at Copenhagen.	41
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

KING EDWARD AND THE CZAR.

The Passing of Russophobia—Anglo-Russian Relations—An Opportune Time for Readjustment—The Effect of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement—How the Reconciliation came about—A Royal Understanding—A Character Sketch of Nicholas II.—His Wooing
--

and Wedding—The Plans of Alexander III.—The Incidents of 1894—The Czar's Friendship for England—The Disarmament Proposals of 1899—The Peace Rescript—How it was Received in England—What the Germans Thought of the Matter—The Conference at the Hague—The Formation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration—The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907—Tibetan Matters on a Firmer Basis—Indian Boundary Friction Removed—An Improved Position in Persia—The Meeting at Reval—Russian Internal Politics—The Dumas—The Party on the <i>Standard</i> —The Return Visit to England—Nicholas at Cowes—An All-round Reconciliation	59
--	----

CHAPTER V.

THE ATTITUDE OF GERMANY.

Anglo-German Diplomatic Rivalries—The Command of the Sea—German Activity in Naval Matters—Emperor William Calls for a Strong Navy—The Navy Vote in the Reichstag—The German Navy League—Great Britain Maintains her Lead—The Ebb and Flow of Public Feeling—Germany Misunderstands British Policy—Retaliating on the Colonies—Restlessness in Great Britain and Germany—Royalty at Kiel—Only a Family Visit—International Racing—The Emperor's Speech at the Banquet—Its Tone of Friendliness—King Edward's Reply—At the Kiel Yacht Club—Visit to Hamburg—The King Returns to London—The Arbitration Treaty Signed—Prince von Bülow's Pacific Speech—The Moroccan Surprise—The German Emperor's Visit to Tangier—A Critical Situation—King Edward's Flying Visit to France—The Algeiras Conference—The King and Queen's Visit to Berlin in 1909	85
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

THE KING AND IRELAND.

The Cause of Irish Misunderstandings—Remedies Discussed—The King's Influence—The Landowners' Convention of 1902—The Revival of the Crimes Act—Lord Dudley as Viceroy—His Opinions on the Situation—Lord Dunraven's Land Conference—What the Report Recommended—The Land Purchase Act of 1903—Some of its Provisions—State Visit to Ireland—The King and Queen in Dublin—A Hearty Irish Welcome—The King's Sympathetic Speeches—A Round of Visits—The Levée—At Maynooth College—A Day in Belfast—In the Wilds of Connemara—Galway's Cheering Welcome—The International Exhibition at Cork—Opening by Edward VII.—What the Land Commission Accomplished—The Act of 1909—A New Era in Ireland	103
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

A RE-UNITED SOUTH AFRICA.

Lord Milner's Retirement—Lord Selborne Takes up the Reins—The New Act in Operation—The Liberal Government Begins Work—A Constitutional Change Foreshadowed by the King—It Becomes Effective—Formation of the South African Council and Legislative Assembly—King Edward's Message—Settling the Chinese Question—The War Contribution Cancelled—The South African Elections of 1907—General Botha as Premier—The Imperial Conference in London—The Zulu Rising of 1906—Working for Union—Lord Selborne's Masterly Plea for Unification—The Inter-State Conference of 1908—The Resultant Bill Before the British Parliament—Some Features of the Bill—The Act of Union is Passed	129
--	-----

CONTENTS

vii

CHAPTER VIII.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

	PAGE
King Edward and Amelioration—Lord Rosebery on Old Age Pensions—Removing the Stigma of the Workhouse—The Age Limit—Mr. Chamberlain's Earlier Scheme—The Royal Commission of 1893—Lord Rothschild's Committee—The "Aged Deserving Poor" Inquiry—The Report and Recommendations—A Fatal Defect—Working at the Idea—An Estimate of the Cost—Pensions and the 1906 Election Campaign—A Retrospect—The Position in 1908—The Bill Becomes Law—Old Age Pensions in Operation—Poor Law Matters—The King's Commission in 1905—Three Years of Deliberation—A Massive and Momentous Report—The Minority Report and What it Suggested—Labour Exchanges Established—Further Steps in Social Reform	143

CHAPTER IX.

KING EDWARD AND THE ARMY.

The Maintenance of Peace—A Stronger Navy: a Reorganised Army—What Happened at the Hague—The Limitation of Armaments—Germany Makes a Stand—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Naval Policy—The Second Hague Conference—Great Britain's Proposal—Mr. Haldane at the War Office—A Scheme of Army Reform—Some of the Principal Points—The Evolution of the "Territorials"—Mr. Haldane's Fundamental Idea—Death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister—The Relation of the Army to the Navy—A Comparison with Lord Esher's Report—The Haldane Scheme for Training "Citizen Soldiers"—King Edward's Part in Forwarding the Proposals—The 1909 Conference on Imperial Defence—Hand in Hand with the Oversea Dominions—The Scheme in Operation	159
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

KING EDWARD AS A SPORTSMAN.

The King's Interest in Racing—Success of Minoru—The Enthusiasm of the Derby Day Crowd—Winning the Derby with Persimmon—The Achievements of the Sandringham Stud—The King's Turf Winnings—In the Coverts and the Hunting Field—His Interest in Cycling and Golf—Yacht-Racing—Some Early Racers—Winning the Royal Cup—The <i>Britannia</i> —A Contest with <i>Shamrock I</i> —The King on <i>Shamrock II</i> —The Accident of 1901—His Narrow Escape—The Race for the America Cup—King Edward's Dogs—The Kennels at Sandringham	177
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS—ITS ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS.

The Home Rule Bill of 1893, a First Cause—"A Settled Habit of Hostility"—Mr. Gladstone's Protest—Lord Rosebery's Concurrence—Ten Years of Tory Government—The Surprise of 1906—Undermining the Power of the Upper House—The Lords' Rejection of the Education Bill and the Scotch Land Bill—The Proposed Conference—Five-Year Parliaments—Abolition of the Upper House Proposed in the Commons—Lord Rosebery's Select Committee—The Government "Going Too Fast"—Mr. Victor Grayson's Meteoric Career—The Scottish Campaign of 1907—Illness and Resignation of Sir Henry	
---	--

Campbell-Bannerman—Mr. Asquith in Power—The Licensing Bill—History of its Inception, Course, and Defeat—The Lansdowne Conference—The Lloyd George Budget—The Chancellor's Early History—Broadening the Basis of Taxation—Money Wanted for the Navy—The Cry for "Dreadnoughts"—Providing for the Old Age Pensions—A Long and Furious Struggle—The New Land Taxes—Unearned Increment—The Situation in December, 1909	189
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

THE KING AND THE CRISIS.

Christmas at Sandringham—King Edward's Interest in the Poor—The Council of January, 1910—A Memorial Service at Frogmore—Quiet Days at Windsor—The General Election—The King at Brighton—The New Parliament Meets—Opening by Edward VII—The Speech from the Throne—The Budget Again—A Dinner Party at Buckingham Palace—The King Visits President Fallières—The Stay at Biarritz—A Cruise in the Mediterranean—The King in Spain—A Slight Indisposition—Home Again—A "Week-End" at Sandringham—Affairs in the Houses of Parliament—The Deadlock over the Upper Chamber—Would the King Intervene?	211
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PASSING OF EDWARD VII.

The King at Sandringham in May, 1910—Bad Weather—Back in London—Good Health and Cheerful Spirits—Dealing with Affairs of State—The King Remains Indoors—In the Doctor's Hands—Premonitions of Illness—A Disturbing Announcement—The First Bulletin—The Royal Family Hastily Gathers—The King's Condition Becomes Critical—Death of Edward VII—The Lying-in State at Westminster—Incidents of the Funeral—The Processions in London and Windsor—The Service in St. George's Chapel—The Resting-place of Kings	229
--	-----



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

H.M. KING EDWARD VII.—*Frontispiece, in Colour.*

H.M. QUEEN ALEXANDRA—*Facing p. 128, " "*

	PAGE		PAGE
King Edward VII. <i>Facing</i>	1	Mr. Will Crooks	35
Lord Halsbury	2	Mr. Richard Bell, M.P.	36
Royalty's Interest in Parliament	3	Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P.	37
Cape Town and Table Mountain	4	The King on his Way to Open Parliament	39
Mr. Chamberlain's Arrival from South		"Parliament Sits"	40
Africa	5	King Edward VII.	43
The Houses of Parliament and Westminster		President Loubet at the Guildhall	44
Bridge	7	The Meeting of King Edward VII. and	
The "House" Going Home after a Long		the King and Queen of Italy	45
Debate	8	An Interesting Royal Group	46
Parliamentary Pressmen writing up "the		Newfoundland Fishermen at Work	47
Situation"	9	Lake Tchad, Soudan	49
Tea on the Terrace	11	Sir Edmund Monson	50
A "Tariff Reform" Meeting, Hyde Park	12	Signing the Anglo-French Agreement	51
Scene in the Lobby, 1903	13	Ceuta	52
The Late Duke of Devonshire	14	The Market Place, Tangier	53
Lord George Hamilton	15	M. Paul Cambon	54
Mr. Balfour Speaking on Tariff Reform	16	Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra	55
Mr. Chamberlain on his Campaign	17	The Royal Yacht <i>Alexandra</i>	56
Prospecting for Gold on the Rand	19	The Royal Yacht <i>Victoria and Albert</i>	57
Election Night: Awaiting Results	20	King Edward VII. Taking Exercise	58
King Edward Going to Church at Sandring-		The Dowager Empress of Russia	60
ham on Christmas Morning	22	Emperor Nicholas II. of Russia and his	
Chatsworth, from the Park	23	Family	61
The Grand Reception Hall, Windsor	24	Russian Peasants	62
The Home Park, Windsor	25	The Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul,	
Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman	27	St. Petersburg.	63
The King and Queen at Paddington Station	29	Scene on the Upper Thames	64
The Reform Club: Discussing Election		The Czarina	65
Results	30	Sir C. S. Scott	66
Rev. Canon Scott-Holland	31	The Terrace at Tsarskoye Selo	67
The Right Hon. John Burns, M.P.	32	The Late Lord Pauncefoot in his Study.	68
Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.	33	The Hall at the Hague in which the Peace	
Dr. T. J. Macnamara, M.P.	34	Conference was held	69

	PAGE		PAGE
Map showing the Advance of Russia towards India	71	Deck View of the Royal Yacht : The Fleet in the Distance	110
Sir P. E. Younghusband	72	The Viceregal Lodge, Phoenix Park, Dublin	111
On the Road to Tibet	73	Kingstown Harbour	112
Teheran	74	The Royal Garden Party at the Viceregal Lodge	113
The Harmless Necessary Cat	75	Lord Dudley and his Son	114
M. and Mme. Stolypin	76	The Throne Room, Dublin Castle	115
The Third Russian Duma : First Meeting of the Deputies	77	The Roman Catholic Pro-Cathedral	116
The Fleet at Reval	78	Maynooth College, Dublin	117
Queen Alexandra and Princess Victoria on the Royal Yacht	79	The Children's Garden Party	119
The Czar and the Czarina	80	Royal Avenue, Belfast	120
Children of the Czar of Russia	81	The Launch of a Liner, Belfast	121
Grand Duke Alexis with his Sailor Friend	82	Devil's Mother Mountain, Connemara	123
Destroyers at Spithead	83	The "Claddagh," Galway	124
The Fleet in Review	83	Galway Women-folk	125
Lords of the Admiralty	84	The King and Queen at Cork	126
The German Emperor and Prince Henry of Prussia on Board the <i>Deutschland</i>	86	View on the Shannon	127
The German First-class Battleship, <i>Brandenburg</i>	87	The King and Queen with Escort of Guards	128
Admiral Prince Henry of Prussia	88	Lord Selborne	130
Prince Adalbert of Germany	89	The Cullinan Diamond	131
King Edward VII. and the German Emperor Meet at Kiel	90	The De Beers Diamond Mines, Kimberley	132
The German First-class Battleship <i>Kaiser Friedrich III.</i>	91	Searching Tables at the De Beers Diamond Mines, Kimberley	133
The German Fleet in Kiel Harbour	92 & 93	Parliament House, Cape Town (Interior)	134
The German Second-class Cruiser <i>Victoria Luise</i>	94	Parliament House and Table Mountain, Cape Town	135
German Torpedo-boats Manœuvring at High Speed off Kiel	95	Lord Gladstone	136
Prince von Bülow	96	Lady Gladstone	137
The Reichstag Building, Berlin	97	The Raadzaal, Pretoria	139
Knowsley Hall	99	General Louis Botha	140
The Royal Family Leaving the <i>Victoria</i> and <i>Albert</i> at Marseilles	100	Ex-President Steyn	141
Sir Frank Lascelles	101	H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught	142
King Edward's Writing-room on the Royal Yacht	102	King Edward's Visit to the Model Dwellings at Millbank	145
Lord Dunraven	105	The Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, M.P.	146
The Right. Hon. George Wyndham, M.P.	106	King Edward VII.	147
The King Visits the Dublin Slums	107	The Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, M.P.	149
Sackville Street, Dublin	108	Signing the Old-Age Pension Paper	151
Lord Morley	109	Eligible Candidates	153
		One of the Earliest Pension Recipients in London	155
		The President's Room at the old Local Government Board	156
		The Right Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P.	157

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xi

	PAGE		PAGE
New Offices of Local Government Board, Whitehall, London	157	The Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, M.P.	195
Casuals waiting outside a London Work- house	158	The Right Hon. Reginald McKenna, M.P.	196
King Edward VII. in his uniform as Field- Marshal	161	The Right Hon. Herbert Samuel, M.P.	197
Lord Esher	162	Lord Crewe	199
The Right Hon. R. B. Haldane, M.P.	163	His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury	200
Types of Territorials	164	The Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P.	201
A Military Levée	165	The First-class Battleship H.M.S. <i>King</i> <i>Edward VII.</i>	203
The New War Office, Whitehall, London	167	The Firing Line on H.M.S. <i>Dreadnought</i>	204
The Prince of Wales (George V.) at a Review	168	Lord Charles Beresford on the Royal Yacht	205
Queen Alexandra and the Princess of Wales (Queen Mary) at a Review	169	A Submarine of 1910	206
The "London Scottish" on the March	171	The Armoured Cruiser H.M.S. <i>Indomitable</i> Christiania	209
Church Service, Swanage Camp	172	King Haakon and his Son Olaf	209
On the Range: King Edward Talking to Lord Cheylesmore	173	Queen Maud and Olaf	209
The Royal Engineers' Wireless Telegraph Station in the Field	174	King Edward VII. in Private Life.	210
The Volunteer Motor Corps Lining up for Review by King Edward VII.	175	Rev. Prebendary J. C. Carlile	212
Territorials on the March	176	The Church Army and the Poor	212
King Edward's Horse "Minoru," Winner of the 1909 Derby	178	The Esplanade, Brighton	213
"Persimmon," the King's First Derby Winner	179	King Edward and his Son	215
King Edward VII. in the Hunting Field	180	The Sea-Front at Biarritz	217
King Edward VII. at Goodwood	181	Sir James Reid	218
King Edward VII. in his Motor-car	182	President Fallières	219
King Edward VII.'s Charger "Kildare"	183	King George V. and Edward VII. at Tea	220
Lord Dunraven's Yacht <i>Valkyrie</i>	184	King George of Greece	221
King Edward's Racing Yacht <i>Britannia</i>	185	The Old <i>Victory</i> Saluting the Royal Yacht	222
<i>Shamrock I.</i>	186	The <i>Enchantress</i>	223
<i>Shamrock II.</i>	187	Queen Mary	224
The Links, Musselburgh, where King Edward First Played Golf	188	Princess of Wales (Queen Mary) out Walking	227
King Edward's Golf Clubs	188	Prince Edward	228
The Carlton Club, Pall Mall, London	190	The Body of King Edward VII. Lying in State at Westminster Hall	231
The Central Hall of the Houses of Parlia- ment	191	The Funeral of King Edward VII.: Pass- ing by Hyde Park	233
Members of the "House" Voting	192	The Funeral Procession in the Grounds at Windsor Castle	234
Introducing a New Peer to the House of Lords	193	The Procession at Windsor	235
		European Kings in the Procession at Windsor	236
		The Coffin Being Carried into St. George's Chapel, Windsor	237
		King George V. Being Proclaimed in London	238
		The King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales	239





Photo: Russell.
KING EDWARD VII. AT BALMORAL.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH

CHAPTER I.

THE DISRUPTION OF THE UNIONISTS

The Unionists in Power—A Programme of Social Amelioration—How it was Carried Out—The Aftermath of the War—The South African Mirage—The Fiscal System in Great Britain—Mr. Chamberlain and Preference—"Tariff Reform" on the Horizon—Mr. Balfour Defines his Position—The Country Becomes Interested—Two Historic Letters—Mr. Chamberlain Resigns—Some Cabinet Anomalies—"The Apostle of Fiscal Reform"—Stagnation at the Cape—The Question of Chinese Labour—Lively Debates in Parliament—Rumours of Dissolution—Mr. Balfour Resigns—A General Election: and its Result.

COINCIDENTLY with the change in the aspect and course of British foreign relations—a change accomplished by the personal influence of King Edward as an exponent of Ministerial policy—there were fundamental changes in English domestic politics in which the Sovereign of necessity had no formative share. It was his lot to witness in the early years of his reign the disruption of the Unionist Party which, with one short break, had for many years been all-powerful in the country. He had watched the formation of that tremendous coalition after Mr. Gladstone had split his party in twain on the Home Rule question; and both as a friend of Ireland and a detached observer of the shifts and rivalries and intrigues of politicians the task must have stimulated reflection upon the difficulties the Party system could produce for an occupant of the Throne. He had lived through

the years of its achievements—the incorporation of the Boer Republics, the enlargement of the area and the responsibilities of the British Empire elsewhere on the African continent, the reconquest of the lost provinces of Egypt, the preservation of inter-European peace notwithstanding the weltering troubles in the East, Near and Far; and he had noted its failure to carry the comprehensive measures of social reform on the suggestion of which its leaders had obtained their great majorities. On one question of particular interest to him—the better housing of the people—nothing had been done worthy of note; the problem of old age pensions had been relegated to the background; and in regard to the great group of questions thrust to the front by the Royal Commission on Labour—on which the King, as Prince of Wales, had desired a seat, and from which he was excluded on the ground that the work of that body might overlap



subjects of Party controversy—there had been inaction, with the conspicuous exception of the extension of the principle of employers' liability to compensate the victims of accident. Until the third year of his reign, when the Wyndham Land Purchase Act was passed, there



LORD HALSBURY.

had been no bold and constructive legislation in the interests of social peace, in Ireland—we shall recur to the visit of the King and Queen in that year and sketch the history of that Act and its successor in a chapter dealing with Irish affairs alone. He had seen the Unionist Party appeal to the country in 1900 for a renewal of office, on the plea that the war was "practically over," and obtain it—on the principle that it is unwise to swop

horses while crossing a stream. He had watched the Government and the Party struggling to end what the venerable Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury, with quaint humour, described as "a sort of war," which went on, with alternate good and ill fortune, despite the official view that the war was over and the goings to and fro of myriad mounted infantry under the African sun. In the negotiations for peace he had—if our inference from known facts be right—taken a hand, or at least exercised a moderating influence upon the office holders who would have fought the Boers to the last cartridge. He had watched the Government enter with high hopes and splendid confidence upon the gigantic task of political and social reconstruction in South Africa; and he had seen their plans miscarry because of the then unrealised extent of the economic ruin which the war had wrought in the sub-continent. Simultaneously with these things he would have observed a rising national movement in England, imperilling the stability of any Government which could not or would not satisfy the

democratic demand for a larger share of the ever-growing wealth of the community. Then came the great convulsion within the Unionist Party—the revival of the old issue of Protection by Mr. Chamberlain, though in a new and twofold form, first as a system for the organic consolidation of the British Empire, and next as a means for alleviating democratic discontent with low wages and with the economic helplessness of men against the brutal

doctrine that labour is a thing to be bought and sold as inanimate commodities are bought and sold. The outcome of that internal convulsion was the temporary destruction of the Unionist Party. It clung to office for two years after the split. When at length it sought its fate at the General Election early in 1906, the electorate almost annihilated it. In domestic affairs, as in foreign relations, a new era had opened. King Edward found himself with new Ministers, animated by a new spirit. What a stupendous change that election effected, and the historic consequences that flowed from it—were flowing in a mighty flood when King Edward breathed his last—will be told hereafter. Our present business is with the causes of the change.

The public had expected an immense revival of trade with the establishment of peace. There was to be a "boom" in South Africa such as the world had never known. The Rand was a mass of gold. To multiply the output all that was needed was to dig deeper. Elsewhere on the veld there were auriferous and diamondiferous areas where new Johannesburgs and new Kimberleys would arise in a night. Great populations would flock there. The resources of the existing railways would be overtaxed to carry inward the new machinery, the supplies, the influx of immigrants—and to carry outward the mammoth nuggets and the precious stones. There would be railway reconstruction and new construction. New industries would be started here, there, and everywhere; the bare veld would blossom like the rose, and the farming class flourish,

so great would be the demand for food-stuffs at the mines. Schemes of colonisation were mooted, not alone for men who wanted to farm in Africa and had a little capital of their own, but also for the superfluous girlhood of England. The ocean picture presented to the imagination was of an unending procession of steamers—



ROYALTY'S INTEREST IN PARLIAMENT.

laden to the Plimsoll line with exports and every sleeping bunk occupied by a sturdy emigrant or daring servant girl or governess—forging through the seas from England to the Cape; and a returning procession with cargoes of gold and passengers laden with newly acquired wealth. The land picture was one of busy cities, new mining camps, and an orderly scramble under Government control for all the good land of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony by British



CAPE TOWN AND TABLE MOUNTAIN.

Photo: Barnard, Cape Town.

emigrants, who would submerge the Boer population and teach them how to farm. Great was the optimism, real and feigned, especially by those who had South African shares to sell which the events of the preceding years had reduced to waste-paper value.

Most unhappily, fancy and reality did not meet. There was no "boom." South Africa was temporarily ruined. The country had been living on and out of the war, on the money which the Imperial Government had been spending so lavishly to prosecute the war. Peace meant the cessation of the greater part of this expenditure. It meant also a partial cessation of employment in those industries in England which depend on the equipment and replenishing of armies. Many thousands of fighting men were thrown by the peace on the labour markets of South Africa and England. Instead of a trade revival there was a shrinkage.

Unemployment increased, and men of discernment, who looked at the facts of life amongst us with their own eyes, knew that the democracy was restive and clamorous. Such discernment was never lacking in Mr. Chamberlain. He read the signs of the times if none other did among his colleagues in the Ministry, which ere this had lost the restraining influence of Lord Salisbury; and to read them was, to a man of his practical, contriving intellect, to search out a line of action. He had gone to South Africa on the conclusion of the peace, to confer with the men on the spot. It was an intrepid enterprise, for he had been the object of bitter obloquy in the former Republics, and it is no slight tribute to the sanity and restraint of the Boer population, among whom he mixed freely, that no violence and no insult was offered him. With the work he did there we are not now concerned; that belongs to the narrative of the paci-

fication and recovery of South Africa. But in "the solitude of the illimitable veld" and on the voyage out and home he reflected much. He left in October, 1902, Birmingham giving him a magnificent send-off after listening to a speech notable for its eloquence and sincerity of thought. He returned in March, and, as we have already seen, was received by the King and Queen. On the 15th of May he visited his constituents and made a speech which broke new ground, suggesting that in return for the preference of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. which Canada had granted on her tariff to British goods, and the preference which the South African Colonies were then granting, Great Britain should alter her fiscal system. Here is the vital passage of the speech:—

"The Ministers of Canada, when they were over here last year, made me a further definite offer. They said, 'We have done for you as much as we can do, voluntarily

and freely and without return. If you are willing to reciprocate in any way, we are prepared to reconsider our tariff with a view to seeing whether we cannot give you further reductions, especially in regard to those goods in which you come into competition with foreigners; and we will do this if you will meet us by giving us a drawback on the small tax of 1s. per quarter which you have put upon corn.' Well, that was the offer, which we had to refuse. I must say that, if I could treat matters of this kind solely in regard to my position as Secretary of State for the Colonies, I should have said, 'That is a fair offer, that is a generous offer, from your point of view, and it is an offer which we might ask our people to accept.'"

Thus the movement which came to be known as "Tariff Reform" was originated in England. "I do not think," said Mr. Chamberlain, "that a general election is very near; but, near or dis-



MR. CHAMBERLAIN ARRIVES AT SOUTHAMPTON FROM SOUTH AFRICA. Photo: Biograph.

tant, I think our opponents may perhaps find that the issues which they propose to raise are not the issues on which we shall take the opinion of the country." In the House of Commons, on the 22nd of May, when taunted with the non-fulfilment of the pledges to provide pensions for the aged, Mr. Chamberlain suggested that the funds for such pensions might be provided if the fiscal system of the country were remodelled on the lines of his Birmingham speech. Here, then, was a new and startling situation. A prominent member of a Ministry held together by the principle of taxation for revenue only had suggested the setting up of a tariff against the rest of the world for the purpose of giving preferential rates to Colonies which protected themselves against the competition of goods made in these islands; and he had done this on the twofold ground that by such a system the bonds of Empire could be strengthened and social reform financed. It was seen at once that such a departure from Free Trade would involve the taxation of the food of the people. Mr. Chamberlain had disclaimed that he was speaking for the Government. Was he making a bid for power as against Mr. Balfour? What did Mr. Balfour think? Thus challenged, Mr. Balfour defined his own position. It was a debatable question whether we should not give up the theory of taxation for revenue only in favour of a system which would enable us to retaliate on Protectionist Powers. The object of a Preferential system—the closer binding of the Empire—was good; the issue was whether the price was not too high. Raw materials for manufacturing could not be taxed. But "you will, in my opinion, never have a tax on the food

of the people in this country, except as part of a big policy which they heartily and conscientiously accept."

There was a difference of degree in the opinion of Mr. Chamberlain and himself; but there was no discord in the Cabinet. It soon appeared, however, that while Mr. Balfour had no objection to academic discussion of the subject, he was not then prepared to take up the new policy and press it upon the country. Mr. Chamberlain, however, went at it hammer and tongs, developing his ideas in other speeches. He admitted that if a preference were to be given to the Colonies, a tax must be put upon food, and he urged that this taxation could be so counterbalanced that the cost of living would not be increased. A furious controversy arose in the country, Protectionist opinion everywhere rallying to his support. Unfortunately for the movement at this stage, the Government had in the Budget of the year remitted the war-tax on corn on the express ground that it had been levied only under pressing urgency, and, being taxation on a prime necessity of life, had first claim to be remitted now that the war was over. Clearly, the Government still stood for Free Trade. There was a debate in the Commons at the Whitsuntide adjournment which showed that Mr. Chamberlain had succeeded in dividing his own party without making converts in the Opposition; and on the resumption of the Session there was another debate, in the course of which Sir M. Hicks Beach, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had levied the Corn Duty, offered a searching criticism of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, and affirmed that unless they were dropped they would destroy the Unionist party. In the Lords also, where the Duke of Devonshire was



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AND WESTMINSTER BRIDGE.



THE "HOUSE" GOING HOME AFTER A LONG DEBATE.

leader, Lord Goschen characterised Mr. Chamberlain's plan as "a gamble with the food of the people," and asked the Government to repudiate it. Lord Lansdowne, for the Government, told the House that it was a plan put forward as a basis for discussion, and was not a plan to which the Government were irrevocably committed; while the Duke of Devonshire obviously discouraged it. The summer passed in speeches and counter-speeches in Parliament and in the country, and new political organisations were brought into existence to expound and to oppose the policy—a "Tariff Committee," a Tariff Reform League, and yet another League for the defence of Free Trade. The controversy became hot. Mr. Balfour found means of keeping it outside the House of Commons. There was a case for inquiry; but the Government, as such, had no new fiscal policy to propose. That

was the official attitude. Thus the Cabinet was able to keep together through the remainder of the Session. After the prorogation in mid-August there was a lull in the storm, except for a manifesto by a number of Professors of Economic Science, condemning Mr. Chamberlain's policy—a manifesto answered by another from other professors who gave it support. On the 22nd of August Lord Salisbury died; a few days after there was issued a report of a Royal Commission on the conduct of the war. It shattered many reputations and convicted the Government of gross incompetence. Then there were more massacres in Armenia. The fiscal question was lost sight of. But a crisis in the Cabinet was imminent. There were long sittings on the 14th and 15th of September, and an announcement on the fiscal policy of the Government was expected to be made. None was forthcoming; but on the 16th

a pamphlet appeared by Mr. Balfour, entitled "Some Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade." It was believed to be a memorandum which he had circulated among his colleagues since Parliament had been prorogued. Its argument was that owing to hostile tariffs there were signs of a decrease of our trade, not only a decrease relatively to the growth of population, but a decrease absolute; and Mr. Balfour suggested that only by arming ourselves with powers of retaliation could this effect of hostile tariffs be counteracted. Mr. Chamberlain's proposals were only mentioned, not discussed; but they were not condemned. On the next day the Board of Trade issued a Fiscal Blue Book, which had long been promised by the Government. It in no wise helped Mr. Chamberlain. Scarcely had the political significance of this colossal volume been grasped by the leader-writers of the morning papers than they were confronted with the fact that Mr. Chamberlain, Lord George Hamilton—the Secretary of State for India—and Mr. Ritchie, who had succeeded Sir Michael Hicks Beach as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had resigned their offices. There had been an interchange of letters, which have become historic. On the 9th of September, Mr. Chamberlain had written:—

"MY DEAR BALFOUR,—In anticipation of the important Cabinet which is to meet on Monday, I have most carefully considered the present situation as it affects the Government and also the great question of fiscal reform.

"When you, in replying to the deputation on the Corn Tax,

and I in addressing my constituents at Birmingham, called attention to the changes that had taken place in our commercial position during the last fifty years and suggested an inquiry into the subject, I do not think that either of us intended to provoke a purely party controversy. We raised, not for the first time, a question of the greatest national and Imperial importance in the hope that it would be discussed with a certain impartiality by both friends and opponents, and that the inquiry thus initiated might lead to conclusions accepted by a majority of the people of this country and represented accordingly in the results of the next General Election.

"Whether our view was reasonable or not, it was certainly not shared by the leaders of the Liberal party. From the first they scouted the idea that a system



PARLIAMENTARY PRESSMEN WRITING UP
"THE SITUATION."

which was generally accepted in 1846 could possibly require any modification in 1903, and the whole resources of the party organisation were brought into play against any attempt to alter or even to inquire into the foundations of our existing fiscal policy.

"Meanwhile the advocates of reconsideration were at a great disadvantage. Owing to admitted differences of opinion in the Unionist party the political organisations of the party were paralysed, and our opponents have had full possession of the field. They have placed in the forefront of their arguments their objections to the taxation of food and even to any readjustment of the existing taxation with a view to securing the mutual advantage of ourselves and our Colonies and the closer union of the different parts of the Empire. A somewhat unscrupulous use has been made of the old cry of the dear loaf, and, in the absence of any full public discussion of the question, I recognise that serious prejudice has been created, and that while the people generally are alive to the danger of unrestricted competition on the part of those foreign countries that close their markets to us while finding in our market an outlet for their surplus production, they have not yet appreciated the importance to our trade of Colonial markets, nor the danger of losing them if we do not meet in some way their natural and patriotic desire for preferential trade.

"The result is that, for the present at any rate, a preferential agreement with our Colonies involving any new duty, however small, on articles of food hitherto untaxed is, even if accompanied by a reduction of taxation on other articles of food of equally universal consumption, unacceptable to the majority in the constituencies.

However much we may regret their decision, and however mistaken we may think it to be, no Government in a democratic country can ignore it. I feel, therefore, that, as an immediate and practical policy, the question of preference to the Colonies cannot be pressed with any hope of success at the present time, although there is a very strong feeling in favour of the other branch of fiscal reform which would give a fuller discretion to the Government in negotiating with foreign countries for freer exchange of commodities and would enable our representatives to retaliate if no concession were made to our just claims for greater reciprocity.

"If, as I believe, you share these views, it seems to me that you will be absolutely justified in adopting them as the policy of your Government, although it will necessarily involve some changes in its constitution. As Secretary of State for the Colonies during the last eight years, I have been in a special sense the representative of the policy of closer union, which I firmly believe is equally necessary in the interests of the Colonies and of ourselves, and I believe that it is possible to-day—and may be impossible to-morrow—to make arrangements for such a union. I have had unexampled opportunities of watching the trend of events and of appreciating the feelings of our kinsmen beyond the seas. I stand, therefore, in a different position to that of any of my colleagues, and I think I should be justly blamed if I remained in office and thus formally accepted the exclusion from my political programme of so important a part of it. I think that, with absolute loyalty to your Government and its general policy, and with no fear of embarrassing it in any way, I can best promote the cause I have at heart from

outside, and I cannot but hope that, in a perfectly independent position, my arguments may be received with less prejudice than would attach to those of a party leader.

"Accordingly I suggest that you should limit the present policy of the Government to the assertion of our freedom in the case of all commercial relations with foreign

"MY DEAR CHAMBERLAIN,—I did not answer your letter of the 9th, which I received shortly before my departure from Scotland for the Cabinet meeting, as I knew that we should within a few hours have an opportunity of talking over the important issues with which it deals. The reply, therefore, which I am now writing rather embodies the results of our conver-



TEA ON THE TERRACE.

countries, and that you should agree to my tendering my resignation of my present office to His Majesty and devoting myself to the work of explaining and popularising those principles of Imperial union which my experience has convinced me are essential to our future welfare and prosperity.

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. CHAMBERLAIN."

Mr. Balfour's reply was not written until the 16th of September. This communication was as follows:—

sation than adds to them anything which is new.

"Agreeing as I do with you that the time has come when a change should be made in the fiscal canons by which we have bound ourselves in our commercial dealings with other Governments, it seems paradoxical, indeed, that you should leave the Cabinet at the time that others of my colleagues are leaving it who disagree on that very point with us both. Yet I cannot but admit, however reluctantly, that there is some force in the arguments with



A "TARIFF REFORM" MEETING, HYDE PARK.

which you support that course, based as they are upon your special and personal relation to that portion of the controversy which deals with Colonial preference. You have done more than any man, living or dead, to bring home to the citizens of the Empire the consciousness of Imperial obligation, and the interdependence between the various fragments into which the Empire is geographically divided. I believe you to be right in holding that this interdependence should find expression in our commercial relations as well as in our political and military relations. I believe with you that closer fiscal union between the Mother Country and her Colonies would be good for the trade of both, and that, if much closer union could be established on fitting terms, its advantages to

both parties would increase as the years went on and as the Colonies grew in wealth and population.

"If there ever has been any difference between us in connection with this matter it has only been with regard to the practicability of a proposal which would seem to require, on the part of the Colonies, a limitation in the all-round development of a protective policy, and on the part of this country the establishment of a preference in favour of important Colonial products. On the first of these requirements, I say nothing, but if the second involves, as it almost certainly does, taxation, however light, upon food stuffs, I am convinced with you that public opinion is not yet ripe for such an arrangement. The reasons may easily be found in past

political battles and present political misrepresentations.

"If, then, this branch of fiscal reform is not at present within the limits of practical politics, you are surely right in your advice not to treat it as indissolubly connected with the other branch of fiscal reform, to which we both attach importance, and which we believe the country is prepared to consider without prejudice. I feel, however, deeply concerned that you should regard this conclusion, however well founded, as one which makes it difficult for you, in your very special circumstances, to remain a member of the Government. Yet I do not venture, in a matter so strictly personal, to raise any objection. If you think you can best serve the interests of Imperial unity, for which you have done so much, by pressing your views on Colonial preference with the freedom which is possible in an independent position, but is hardly compatible with office, how can I criticise your determination? The loss to the Government is great, but the gain to the cause you have at heart may be

greater still. If so, what can I do but acquiesce?

"Yours sincerely,

"A. J. BALFOUR."

The nation marvelled why the Duke of Devonshire—the straightest man in political life, who might be deceived for a time, but was himself incapable of duplicity—remained within a Cabinet where Free Traders like Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Ritchie could not honestly remain. The explanation was that Mr. Balfour was not reluctant to lose Lord George and Mr. Ritchie, but wished to keep the Duke of Devonshire if he could. He kept Mr. Chamberlain's letter of resignation to himself, saying never a word to the Indian Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it, or of his acceptance of the resignation. The Cabinet meetings were on the 14th and 15th. Mr. Balfour acquiesced in Mr. Chamberlain's resignation, sent to him on the 9th, by the letter dated the 16th of September. Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Ritchie wrote their resignations on the afternoon after the Cabinet meeting of the 15th, "in ignorance," as



SCENE IN THE LOBBY, 1903.



Photo: Dickinson & Foster.

THE LATE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

Lord George wrote, "of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation and of the consequent elimination of all that related to preferential tariffs from the Government programme." Had they known Mr. Chamberlain had gone out, or would go out, they would not have gone. While men marvelled at Mr. Balfour's dexterity in dealing both with his colleagues and the fiscal policy, the Duke of Devonshire, never a rapid thinker, was pondering over the situation and wondering whether, after all, the policy of Free Trade was really the policy of Mr. Balfour. The National Union of Conservative Associations was meeting at Sheffield. Mr. Balfour addressed it on the tariff question. We were helpless under our Tariff system against hostile Tariffs and Trusts. Therefore, he asked that the people of this country should give to the Government "that freedom of negotiation of which we have been deprived, not by the force of circumstances, not by the

pressure of Foreign Powers, but by something which I can only describe as our own pedantry and our own self-conceit." If he were asked, "Do you desire to reverse the fiscal tradition which has prevailed during the last two generations?" he would reply, "Yes, I do!" He would change that tradition "by asking the people of this country to reverse, to annul and delete altogether from their maxims of public conduct the doctrine that you must never put on taxation except for revenue purposes."

The Duke of Devonshire thereupon resigned. He had, he wrote to Mr. Balfour, "hoped for an explicit declaration [at Sheffield] of adherence to the principles of Free Trade as the ordinary basis of our fiscal and commercial system, and an equally explicit repudiation of the principles of Protection." He expressed his anxiety at the cleavage in the Unionist party which the Sheffield speech would produce. Mr. Balfour replied to this letter with some warmth. The speech was entirely forestalled by the "Notes on Insular Free Trade." If anyone but the Duke of Devonshire had written to him thus he would have attributed it to a desire to pick a quarrel. So far from the Sheffield speech producing greater party division, it had effected greater harmony than had existed since May. "Had you resigned on the 15th [of September], or had you not resigned at all, this healing effect would have suffered no interruption. To resign now, and to resign on the speech, is to take the course most calculated to make yet harder the task of the peacemaker."

Mr. Balfour had reconstituted his Ministry. Failing to persuade Lord Milner to leave unfinished the work of reconstruc-



tion which he had begun in South Africa, and go to the Colonial Office, Mr. Balfour made Mr. Alfred Lyttelton Colonial Secretary, a position in which he won a place in history by sanctioning the introduction of Chinese labour. The eldest son of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who had been a member of the House of Commons for several years, was transferred from the Post Office to the Treasury. In a witty description of Mr. Austen, *Punch* had happily described his politics as "same as Pa's." That he should have been promoted to be Chancellor of the Exchequer was a handsome compliment alike to his father and to his own remarkable industry. He was a success in his new office, and won the confidence and esteem of the House and the country. Mr. Brodrick, in whose schemes of Army reform the country had little faith, was transferred to the India Office, and Mr. Arnold Forster, who had ideas of his own on military organisation, went to the War Office. The other changes are immaterial here.

Mr. Chamberlain plunged forthwith into his work as the chief apostle of the new fiscal gospel, and made a series of speeches. They were answered by counter speeches by Unionist and Liberal statesmen of equal eminence. The split in the Unionist party was deep. We can touch only upon the prominent features of the struggle. The Government took no part in it, and thwarted attempts to have the controversy threshed out on the floor of the Commons. The year ended with the flood of contentious oratory unabated, and with the appointment by the Tariff Reform League of a "Commission" to collect evidence on which Mr. Chamberlain believed it would be possible to frame a

scientific tariff by which we could return preference for preference with the Colonies, retaliate on Protectionist countries and compel them to lower their barriers, and yet not add to the cost of raw materials to the manufacturer or of the necessities of life to the poor. He began his crusade with the intention of keeping the subject as a great Imperial theme above and beyond the strife of parties; but this proved to be impracticable, and it was not long before that section of the public which takes a keen interest in politics was sharply divided on this issue into two camps, roughly corresponding with Liberals and Conservative-Unionists, though within the latter there was a minority—all keen thinkers—who obstinately refused to accept and promulgate the Chamberlain formulæ.

Amid the din and strife of warring



Photo: Elliott & Fry.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON.





MR. BALFOUR SPEAKING ON TARIFF REFORM.

tongues none could tell what the nation at large really thought. With undaunted courage Mr. Chamberlain went on his way ; and with equal persistence his Liberal and Conservative and Unionist Free Trade op-

ponents subjected his speeches to merciless analysis and criticism, badly damaging his case and dissipating specific instances and figures on which arguments of his were founded. Gradually the impression gained ground that though Mr. Chamberlain was seized with a great central idea, he had not yet thought his way through its practical consequences, either upon the Empire as a living organism or upon the lot of the masses in England. He had a case, but he had not convinced the nation that his case was irrefutable. Far from it, for whenever he became definite the refutation followed. Powerful as his own intellect was, and expert as he was in controversial arts, there were pitted against him intellects quite as strong, and controversialists of equal skill. Among men of front rank in the national life he found himself standing alone, supported, it is true, by an ever-growing number of smaller men, but with no man of commanding influence by his side who possessed the confidence of the nation. He had captured the Liberal-Unionist organisation and the Liberal-Unionist Free Traders ; he and his party fought the latter as they fought him and them whenever there was a bye-election ; but it was apparent that, for the time being,

ponents subjected his speeches to merciless analysis and criticism, badly damaging his case and dissipating specific instances and figures on which arguments of his were founded. Gradually the impression gained ground that though Mr. Chamberlain was seized with a great central idea, he had not yet thought his way through its practical consequences, either upon the Empire as a living organism or upon the lot of the masses in England. He had a case, but he had not convinced the nation that his case was irrefutable. Far from it, for whenever he became definite the refutation followed. Powerful as his own intellect was, and expert as he was in controversial arts, there were pitted against him intellects quite as strong, and controversialists of equal skill. Among men of front rank in the national life he found himself standing alone, supported, it is true, by an ever-growing number of smaller men, but with no man of commanding influence by his side who possessed the confidence of the nation. He had captured the Liberal-Unionist organisation and

he was making little if any headway among the industrial classes. That was the situation throughout 1904 and 1905. Meanwhile events had provided the nation with new excitements. The world was shaking under the tumultuous march of the hostile millions of Russia and Japan. None knew what the morrow would bring forth. At home the legislative energies of the Government were exhausted. Every new document produced by the Commissions and Committees which sat to investigate this or that aspect of the war in South Africa disclosed still further the administrative incompetence and intensified public distrust. For South Africa itself, instead of a great boom, there was probable bankruptcy and an imminent prospect of Imperial grants-in-aid if the machinery of government in the new Colonies was to be kept running. During the war the native population had prospered in the service of the combatants and a large amount of British gold had found its way into the kraals. Thus enriched at the expense of the British taxpayer the natives had no stomach for labour in the mines, at any rate not at such prices as the mine-owners in combination were prepared to pay. From this cause, coupled with the refusal of the mine-owners to employ white labour, of which South Africa was so full that nearly every white man who could afford a passage

home took it, the mining industry flagged so badly that by the end of 1903 Lord Milner, who had set up a costly system of administration, confided his woes to the Colonial Office. There was complete stagnation. The railway



Photo: Watson.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN ON HIS CAMPAIGN.

revenue had fallen. The outlook was bad. There would be a deficit of over half a million on the Budget; the constabulary would have to be reduced, and the Imperial Government must forego asking for an instalment—£10,000,000—of the thirty millions which the mining magnates had agreed with Mr. Chamberlain to pay to the Imperial Government as a contribution to the cost of the war. Indeed, not so much as the interest on the loan could be met. If it were pressed for a formidable weapon would be put in the hands of the disaffected, and Lord Milner hinted at an ugly quarrel. Clearly the bargain was not one which it would be politic to enforce at any time. As for the remedy for the threatened bankruptcy, there was nothing for it, in Lord Milner's opinion, but to agree to the mine-owners' demands for Chinese labour. The Chinese were as the sands of the sea. They were cheap. They would bring the blacks to reason. Anyway, the experiment must be tried as the one alternative to an Imperial grant-in-aid.

Thus was the vision of a magnificently prosperous Transvaal dispelled. Arguments were invented in favour of the introduction of Chinese under a system of indenture and pressed upon the Colonial Office by Lord Milner until Mr. Lyttelton at last yielded, notwithstanding that the Boers, in so far as Boer opinion found organised and authoritative expression, declared that the introduction of Chinese would be a "public calamity of the first magnitude for which the temporary slackness of the labour market formed no excuse." An Ordinance was passed in the Transvaal, and before the year was out many thousands of Chinese were lodged in compounds. The debates

in Parliament on this measure disclosed fierce opposition, and a vote of censure was moved upon the Government in the Commons for not having advised the King to disallow the Ordinance. But the Government could not then go back if it would. In the country the Ordinance was regarded with intense dislike. To say that it set up a system of slavery, as Liberal assailants of the Government asserted, was to strain language, but it was a system akin to serfdom and out of harmony with English ideas, save in ex-slave-owning areas of the Empire, where Asiatics had been introduced in the hope of coercing the freed black population to labour for a microscopic wage. The Government seem to have had no conception of the resentment that the agreement to Chinese labour would cause in the constituencies. The British miner, who had fought in the war or, because the Transvaal was now British territory, had emigrated in the belief that he would get well-paid employment, found himself shut out and employment given to the Chinese coolie instead, under conditions that would not be accepted by any human being but a Chinaman, not even by a Kaffir. That was the way the matter presented itself to the mind of the people in England, whose outlook on South African affairs had undergone a radical change. To the fiscal question there was also added the question of "Chinese Slavery." Bye-election after bye-election showed that the tide was running with ever-increasing strength against the Government, as is the way of bye-elections. Unemployment also was rife; Socialist orators and organisers were active in the great centres of population; there were demands on every side, in the

House and out of it, for a dissolution. Mr. Chamberlain, it was understood, would have had the Government resign earlier. The theory was that had the country been appealed to on his policy in the early stages of its promulgation, when it was an intangibly beautiful thing made up of

self, or at least producing no result of such effort, to reduce the new fiscal policy to such concrete and intelligible form that the Party could re-unite upon it under his leadership. The Session closed in August—a Session barren of important legislation and fruitful in futile discussions.



Photo: Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough.
PROSPECTING FOR GOLD ON
THE RAND.

the roseate glories of Imperial sentiment and unspoiled by the winds of criticism, the country would have returned a majority pledged to the principle of a general tariff with preference to the Colonies. That was the theory. Mr. Balfour did not believe in it, whoever else may have done. He stuck to office, hoping that time would heal the divisions in the Unionist party, but making no concentrated effort him-

Mr. Balfour appealed for unity and he appealed in vain, because no one knew his mind and many doubted whether he knew it himself. There was no such uncertainty about Mr. Chamberlain. He expounded his ideas in season and out of season, and the more they were assailed the greater was the energy of his defence. He toiled incessantly, and with all the art and skill which thirty years' experience in the

organisation of political opinion had taught him. In these circumstances the active elements in the Unionist party throughout the country drifted to Mr. Chamberlain's views rather than respond to Mr. Balfour's appeal for unity on some policy of his own akin to Mr. Chamberlain's, but which he either could not or would not expound in plain speech. There was an understanding when Parliament rose that he would not dissolve in the autumn. The pretext was that delicate negotiations on foreign affairs were afoot. They were ended by November. Mr. Balfour made another appeal for Party union. It was disregarded, and because of that *The Times* demanded in no uncertain tones that he should at an early date place his resignation

in the hands of the King. On Tuesday, the 5th of December, 1905, to the intense satisfaction of the country, eager for a decisive fight at the polls on the fiscal and "Chinese Slavery" issues, it was announced that the King was graciously pleased to accept Mr. Balfour's resignation and had sent for Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. The electorate swept the Conservative - Liberal - Unionist majority out of existence. It did considerably more than that. It converted the Unionists' majority of 74 into a minority of 356. It returned 430 members pledged to vote *against* the Chamberlain policy and "Chinese Slavery," and *for* an extensive programme of political and social change; and that for the better.



ELECTION NIGHT: AWAITING RESULTS AT HAMMERSMITH.

CHAPTER II.

THE UPHEAVAL OF 1906

Christmas at Sandringham—King Edward Dissolves Parliament—Some Royal Tree Planting—The "Platforms" of the Parties—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Manifesto—An Election Incident—Items in Mr. Balfour's Address—Mr. Chamberlain's Line of Action—The Trade Union Group—What the Labour Candidates Said—The New Parliament Classified—The Apostle of Progress—The Socialistic Element—An Analysis of their Aims and Propaganda—Points in the Programme of the Independent Labour Party—The King Opens the New Parliament—The Speech from the Throne—Its Keynote of Sociological Betterment.

IF King Edward was a reader of Socialist literature—and he probably was, for he delighted in works of modern progress—he would have known that the political reform which stands first on the Socialist programme is "Abolition of the Monarchy." If he had not been a man of the world, who understood the essentially conservative nature of his countrymen—a man who had seen the Republicanism which Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke had helped to popularise in the 'seventies vanish like a morning mist—it would have been excusable had he been a little apprehensive at the presence in the new House of Commons of thirty-one members, who were to all intents and purposes Socialists. In addition to these there were twelve who had themselves toiled in mines, had been elected in the main by mining votes, and were pledged to put the interests of their class in front of every other interest, or at least to keep them abreast of any other Labour claim. Further, there were ten other members who ranged themselves in what they called the Trade Union group; and their office was also to speak and vote for and otherwise champion the cause of Labour. The General Election, among

other surprising things, had resulted in the return of fifty-three members of the manual and wage-earning classes, all united on the principle of using the Parliamentary system for the advancement of the welfare of the wage-earners at whatever cost to the pockets of other classes. For political purposes these three groups may therefore, because of this unity of class and of class purpose, be regarded as one compact whole, subject to the fissiparous tendencies inherent in all coalitions. For example, a thoroughgoing Socialist who would topple the Crown into the gutter and a Trade Unionist of the older school, like Mr. Burt or Mr. Fenwick, whose loyalty to the Throne had been ever above suspicion, would find it impossible to act together if that issue were raised. But it was not raised; and it is a remarkable thing, testifying to the popularity of King Edward among the democracy, as well as to the mildness of English Socialism—or the astute discretion of its representatives in Parliament—that never a word of disloyalty to the Throne or of disrespect to King Edward or any member of his family was uttered in the new House of Commons by those whose first article of political faith was the abolition of the Monarchy. Whoever else had

reason to be alarmed at the emergence of the Labour-Socialist Party, King Edward had none, as events were to prove ; and

to have foreseen, as all with the least political insight did foresee, that the new Parliament would make much trouble.



KING EDWARD GOING TO CHURCH AT SANDRINGHAM ON CHRISTMAS MORNING.

we may be sure that he felt none, knowing the mind of his people as he did. But he must have followed this historic election, as everyone else did, with constantly growing surprise ; and he could not fail

indiscretions of two or three young gentlemen who sought to further their candidature as Conservatives by identifying the Crown with their own party, for His Majesty to request Lord Knollys

The King had spent the Christmas festival of 1905 at Sandringham in the usual way, and on New Year's Day he accompanied the Queen and Princess Victoria to Chatsworth, where the Duke of Devonshire was entertaining a house party which, by the way, included the ex-Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour ; but he returned to London on the 8th to hold a Council, at which he signed a declaration dissolving Parliament, and ordering the issue of new writs, the election of Scotch and Irish representative Peers, and the meeting of the new Parliament on the 13th of February. After a few days in London he returned to Sandringham. Not a whisper came from his country home as to any views of his own on the issues put before the public by the contending parties ; but it was unfortunately necessary, owing to the

to write, in one instance, to the effect that, while it was contrary to His Majesty's rule to advise anyone how to vote, His Majesty was confident that no disloyalty would be shown to him in recording votes for one candidate or for another. Other ardent patriots, possibly in innocent simplicity, probably for vote-catching purposes, had portraits of the King and

England with merriment by asserting that he had a perfect right to use the Imperial Crown in such a way, seeing that it was his "great ancestor" who gave the Imperial Crown to the Throne. Lord Knolly's wrote from Buckingham Palace that he "thought Mr. Disraeli's 'great ancestor' would have been very much astonished to hear of Mr. Disraeli's con-

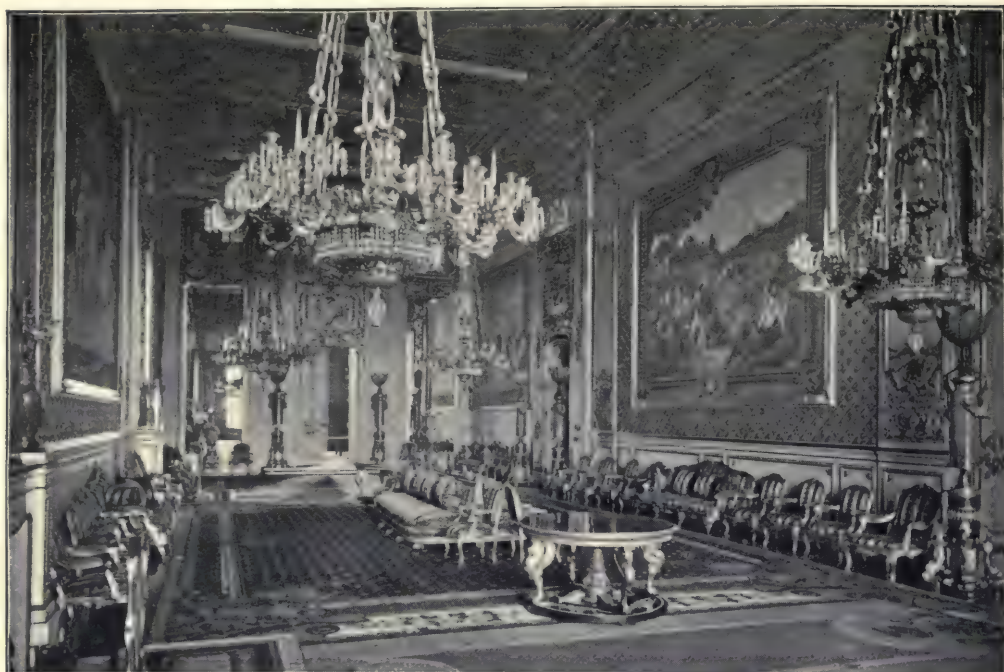


CHATSWORTH, FROM THE PARK.

Photo: Graphotene.

Imperial Crowns on notepaper, distribution bills, and posters; and this practice being brought to His Majesty's attention, Lord Knollys wrote that "the King does not approve of the introduction of the emblems of the Sovereign into electioneering bills and posters, though I find it is not illegal." Among these "innocents" was Mr. Coningsby Disraeli, who had issued to the electors of the constituency he was wooing a New Year's card bearing an Imperial Crown. On complaint being made he convulsed

tention that he had a right to make use of the King's Crown." The incidents may be noted as showing the strong and wise distaste of the King for anything which tended to drag the Crown into party dispute. His Majesty came to London when the elections were nearly over, and spent part of the time at Windsor and with friends within easy reach of the capital. He had caused it to be announced that he would open Parliament in person; but the death of the King of Denmark,



THE GRAND RECEPTION HALL, WINDSOR.

Photo: King.

the father of the Queen, jeopardised this plan. His Majesty, however, decided that his many public engagements would not permit him to attend the funeral, and the Queen and Princess Victoria had to go alone. Messages of condolence were sent to the King and Queen from all parts of the country, and many separate messages to Queen Alexandra. "Will you convey to the citizens of London," Her Majesty telegraphed to the Lord Mayor, "my heartfelt thanks for their sympathy in the irreparable loss which I have sustained." The King remained at Windsor until the opening of the new Parliament in the month of February.. And he was very busy there with the comings and goings of Ministers. On off-days he had some shooting in the Park coverts, though he was still suffering from a slight lame-

ness arising from the injury he had met with previously; and it should be worth noting that while the storm of the General Election was raging through the country he did one interesting thing for which future generations and wayfarers on the road from Datchet to Windsor will gratefully remember him, for he opened a new avenue of lime trees from the bridge over the river to the foot of the castle hill. At the beginning of the avenue, at the bridge, there are three limes, now sturdy saplings, representing the three generations of the Royal Family. One was planted by King Edward, another by the Prince of Wales, and the third by Prince Edward, then a lad of twelve. The time will come when these three trees will represent three Sovereigns in succession—father, son, and grandson. But

to return to the historic election—an event for which there was no parallel more recent than the Reform Parliament of 1832.

What were the issues on which it was fought? Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman published a manifesto of appalling length. The ten years of Unionist government he treated as a wellnigh unbroken expanse of mismanagement; of legislation conducted for the benefit of privileged classes and powerful interests; of wars and adventures abroad hastily embarked upon and recklessly pursued. He had, he wrote, taken up "a legacy of embarrassment, an accumulation of public mischief appalling in its extent and ramifications." Having expended much verbal thunder on the

record of the past, he assailed the Unionist policy for the future as a policy of Protection fraught with incalculable mischief to the nation and to the Empire. That was his conviction. He was a Free Trader because under Free Trade our people and our industries stood to derive greater benefits than under any other system known to mankind. Nothing in the experience of Protectionist countries led him to suppose that by limiting imports exports could be increased, or that by raising prices, no matter by what Tariff expedients, the conditions of international competition could be utilised or unemployment diminished. Still less was he persuaded that the taxation of food could conduce to the welfare of the people.



THE HOME PARK, WINDSOR.

He was not prepared to sacrifice conditions which he believed to be indispensable to our social welfare and our industrial greatness because individual industries here and there were hampered by foreign tariffs. Our fathers abandoned Protection because they found it a bad system to live and labour under. He could not follow the argument that because certain great industrial States were thriving under Protection we should hasten to resume our cast-off garments. Protection was not only bad economy but immoral and oppressive, based, as it is and must be, on the exploitation of the community in the interest of favoured trades and financial groups. He held it to be a corrupting system because honesty and purity of administration must be driven to the wall if the principle which he believed to be the essence of Protection were adopted—that of taxes for private beneficiaries. “Any attempt to rivet together the component parts of Empire by bonds so forged, or to involve it with us in a fiscal war against the world, is not and cannot come to good. An Empire united on a basis of food taxes would be an Empire with a disruptive force at its centre.” And with such unity Sir Henry would have nothing to do. “I am well aware,” he added, “that our opponents claim to be in a position to establish some kind of indeterminate fiscal limbo, in which the advantages of Free Trade and Protection are to be combined, with the disadvantages of neither—a fiscal paradise, perhaps I ought to call it, where tariffs will bless consumer and producer in equal measure, where the workman will find employment by the exclusion of foreign commodities, and the taxpayer will be relieved by the golden stream of

tribute with which the foreigner will still—I know not how—continue to provide him. These fairy stories will be dismissed by serious men, and so, I hope, will be the illusory assurances that the Protection proposed will be of such a moderate description that nobody will be any the worse for it. The man who sets a stone rolling down a steep place may intend that it shall fall slowly and stop before it reaches the foot of the slope, but the stone follows its own course. In the same way the forces that will determine the course and momentum of the Tariff movement, once it is started on its way, are beyond the control of the Tariff propagandists; and we shall do well to remember that every country which started on the protectionist path set out in a gradual and tentative way, and with the declared intention of executing a strictly moderate tariff policy.” For the rest the Government would hold fast to the principles of Liberalism—the principles of peace, economy, self-government and civil and religious liberty. They would resist with all their strength the attack on Free Trade; they would repair, as far as lay in their power, the mischief wrought in recent years; and by strenuous legislation and administration they promised social and economic reforms “which had been too long delayed.”

It had been the habit of years with the Party then dominant in the country to deride Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as a mediocrity, a dummy figurehead, who had been made leader of the Party lest some abler man got that office and added to Liberal distractions because of his ability and stronger will. It had been the fashion on the Treasury Bench to treat him with superciliousness. Sir Henry was

soon to show that though he did not lay claim to the intellectual superiority affected by some of his opponents, he was far from being a mediocrity, and had fine moral courage and consistency of character. The Election manifesto surprised them and the country by its masterly concentration on one single issue—Protection *versus* Free Trade—and by the certainty and clearness of its convictions. It was complained against him that he had not done justice to his opponents, whose movement was not Protection; but there were so many cross currents that no one could say with precision what the movement was, while it was quite certain that every Protectionist in the country had joined it and was doing whatever he could to convert it into a revival of the Protectionist system for English agriculture as well as manufactures. All the interests that had not ceased to regret the abandonment of Protection in the 'forties and had laboured for its re-establishment accepted the Birmingham policy. There was the version of Mr. Chamberlain as to what he meant and intended by Tariff Reform—a version by which the central idea and the object were intelligibly set forth, but the advantages he expected left unproved; there was the version of Tariff Reform which Mr. Balfour then cherished in his inner consciousness; there were the hundred and one versions of it current among those who wanted their own industries protected, and among the people who accepted either Mr. Balfour or Mr. Chamberlain, or tried to accept both, as their guide in economics. What was the gospel pure and undefiled few could tell, though all who accepted it pretended to know. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's

reading of the movement was that it was a Protectionist revival. Did the nation want Protection again, or did it not? That was the issue he set before the electorate. On that, as the predominant issue, he appealed for a majority.

Mr. Balfour's address had a certain

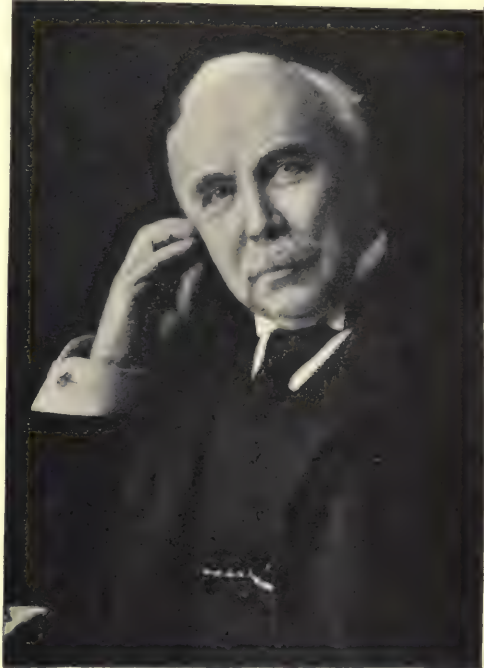


Photo: Haines.

SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

economy and indefiniteness of statement on the fiscal issue; but he was addressing North-East Manchester, and fighting an uphill battle for his seat there—a losing battle, for the constituency returned a Free Trader by a heavy majority. He believed that our fiscal policy should be adapted to the changing conditions of a changing world. "Should you return the Unionist Party to power," he wrote, "it is to the reform of our fiscal system that

its attention ought first to be directed—a task worthy of the efforts of a great Party.”

Mr. Chamberlain's address was as strong and clear as all his utterances were wont to be, whatever the view he might be taking. Again he denied that his policy was Protection as Protection was understood and meant to be understood by his opponents; his policy was defensive, constructive, and practical. He charged his Liberal opponents with having shown a profound indifference to the wishes of our colonial kinsmen for closer commercial union. He declared that his system of a general tariff would of necessity provide for the free admission of raw materials, and he prophesied that the country would suffer if it did not accept the policy of preference. The miseries of the people would force its acceptance in the end. The new Ministry was one of Home Rulers and Little Englanders.

Mr. Balfour had made much the same point, and had appealed to the defensive instinct of the Church and of the liquor trade. But these were side issues. The cardinal point of the election manifesto of the Conservative leader and of that of the leader of the Liberal Unionists was that fiscal change was necessary. In speeches each denied that Protection was his aim. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's argument was that whatever the aim might be the thing itself was Protection and nothing but Protection. That was the main issue before the nation. It presented itself to the Duke of Devonshire in that light. Whatever Mr. Balfour might mean when he talked of a “constructive” policy of fiscal Reform, the Duke did not know; but he did know what Mr. Chamberlain's proposals were

and the proposals of the Tariff Reform League. They were distinct and clear, and it was impossible to distinguish them from pure Protection. In that he was at one with the Liberal Prime Minister. What course should Unionist Free Traders take? He advised them not to be alarmed by fears of a Home Rule Bill in the new Parliament, but to take such action as would prove that the Unionist Party, whether in office or in opposition, was uncommitted to the new fiscal policy, which he condemned as retrograde. They took that advice, and either voted with the Liberals or abstained.

With the flood of election oratory we are not here concerned. It was not of conspicuous intellectual value on either side. Election oratory never is. As the campaign progressed—and the present writer had to follow it day by day, travelling hither and thither over a large area of industrial England—three facts emerged. The first was that the people were determined to be rid of the Unionist Party, because it had become identified with a fiscal policy which would—so the democracy feared—add to the cost of the necessities of life in England. The second was that in many great cities, and especially in the mining areas, there was very keen resentment at the introduction of Chinese labour into South Africa. And the third was that an enormous number of people of all classes in the urban constituencies had broken away from Party allegiance and meant to vote as they felt inclined, whatever happened to the two-Party system. Men who had voted Unionist in 1895, and had remained faithful in the “khaki” election of 1900, either transferred their vote to the Liberals or voted for the Labour candidate when there was

one, on the principle that neither of the two great Parties could be trusted to discharge their promises of social legislation. A strong feeling had grown up in the minds of the working classes that nothing would be done for them if they returned wealthy and educated men who

unprofitable Party game at the bidding of the mandarins of politics, and that to get something done this type of member must be displaced by a working-man actually or quite recently at labour in mine or mill, in factory or field. Historically speaking, this feeling was not new; for



THE KING AND QUEEN AT PADDINGTON STATION.

bore the conventional Party labels and uttered the cries which the leaders of the respective Parties had pronounced to be orthodox. There was a widespread conviction among the wage-earners that the type of Member of Parliament must be changed—that the great employer, the successful merchant and professional man, or member of the ruling territorial family in the county, could not be trusted to do anything but play the dreary and

a quarter of a century there had been two or three working-men in Parliament who had been enabled to live and do their work there because they were financed by their fellows; but the prevalence of the idea was new. It was astonishing to find masses of working-men imbued with an intense class consciousness, contemptuously hostile to both Parties, determined to be represented by men of their own class, and preferring to waste their votes



THE REFORM CLUB: DISCUSSING ELECTION RESULTS.

on a man of their own social rank who had no chance of getting in for a particular constituency rather than give them to one or other of the Party candidates shouting for Tariff Reform or Free Trade. Where there was no Labour candidate the bulk of the working class vote was, as a rule, given to the Liberal. Not until the elections had well begun did the upper and middle classes realise that the working-man was bent on making a Party for himself.

became still more disturbing when it was realised that Labour had possessed itself of a social ideal and had produced from within itself not a few men of virile intellect, of deep and passionate conviction, of unmistakable honesty of purpose, of immense power over the minds of their fellows—men, too, of great knowledge of the facts of life, some with a genius for controversy and oratory, able to hold their own in argument with the cleverest debaters in public life, and to

When they were over there was, indeed, much perturbation of spirit, much questioning as to why this should be, and how it had all come about. For everyone with discernment could see that the old ascendancy of wealth and station, essentially the same in spirit and in action, though nominally divided into two rival parties under different names, was now threatened by a quite different sort of ascendancy—that of the democracy, poor, untutored, inexperienced in the conduct of affairs, yet resolutely determined to wrest from the State a larger share of the ever-expanding wealth of the country. It was an alarming vision for many; and it

speak with a force and an eloquence that compelled admiration.

What was the ideal? Men called it Socialism, and some denounced it as an enormity to be suppressed. Let us see what the thing itself was, or at least what had been presented to street-corner audiences for a generation before the election of 1906. Only by such an examination of what had been forming beneath the surface of things will the reader appreciate the significance of the presence of thirty-one "Labour" members of Socialistic tendencies in the second Parliament of King Edward VII. It is vital to a comprehension of the affairs that led up to the constitutional crisis in the midst of which King Edward died; and it is equally vital to an understanding of present and prospective politics under the new reign.

The generally accepted definition of Socialism, the definition on which all the Socialist parties throughout the world unite, is that Socialism is a system of society founded on the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. We exclude from consideration here the historical origins of the creed, either economic or religious—and there are those who claim that Jesus was a Socialist, and that Christianity and Socialism are synonymous; hence the Christian-Socialist group. Of the history of the movement, all that need be said is that the mental revolt against Capitalism and the modern industrial order reached England last. It was less violent in its expression and aims than on the Con-

tinents of Europe, and has remained almost wholly free from the taint of revolution by force. The strong individualism of England had to be overcome before Socialism could get a hearing. The Trades Unions embodied the doctrines of the Manchester School. They did not want State aid. All they asked from the State was freedom to bargain with Capital for a due share of the fruits of industry. But after several decades of Trade Union activity, it was found that Trades Unions of themselves had accomplished but little for the economic betterment of their own members, while outside that membership the world of labour was in sore travail, with great masses of men sunk in poverty and



REV. CANON SCOTT-HOLLAND.
Photo supplied by the Church Agency, Limited.



degradation. "Anyone," wrote Professor Huxley in 1888, "who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . that condition which the French call *la misère*, a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth and clothing which are necessary for the mere main-

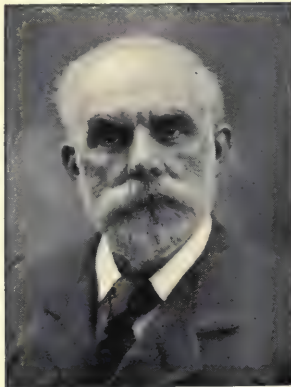


Photo: Moyse, Putney.

THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BURNS, M.P.

tenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained; in which men, women and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave. . . . When the organisation of society,

instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it, when a given social order plainly makes for evil and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment. I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it." And in another passage of a later date he put it on record, as his deliberate opinion, that the lot of a primitive savage was a better lot than that of a man living in poverty in a civilised State. The upheaval of casual labour in England, which began with the great dock strike of the 'eighties, was a revolt against the conditions which Professor Huxley described; and though its immediate effect was to lead to an extension of trade unionism among classes which, up to that point, had remained unorganised for protection against low wages and evil conditions of employment, its ultimate effect, which came rapidly, was to convince the democracy of its own powerlessness to improve its lot except through the agency of the State, and by the employment of political machinery. Because of this conviction, coupled with a long spell of trade depression, the mind of the democracy, prepared as it had been by a system of elementary education which at least had produced a generation who could read, turned with receptive eagerness to the evangelists of a new economic gospel which confidently asserted the curability of all the ills that afflicted the State—short of original sin—and presented the picture of a social order in which there

would be neither hunger nor idleness in our streets. That was the ideal. It implied a destruction of the existing order and a reconstruction, each process to go on simultaneously, no one knew how, and without an accompanying cataclysm—again no one knew how. During the process the monarchy was to disappear. On that phase of the subject the "Platform" of the Socialist Labour Party had some suggestive sentences:

"The course of Society generally has been from warring but democratic tribes within each nation to a united government under an absolutely undemocratic monarchy. Within this monarchy there were again developed revolts against its power—revolts at first seeking to limit its prerogatives only, then demanding the inclusion of certain classes in the governing power, then demanding the right of the subject to criticise and control the power of the monarch, and finally, in the most advanced countries this movement culminated in the total abolition of the monarchical institution, and the transformation of the subject into the citizen.

"In industry a corresponding development has taken place. The independent producer, owning his own tools and knowing no master, has given way before the more effective productive powers of huge capital, concentrated in the hands of the great capitalist. The latter, recognising no rights in his workers, ruled as an absolute monarch in his factory. But within the realm of capital developed a revolt against the power of the capitalist. This revolt, taking the form of trade unionism, has pursued in the industrial field the same line of development as the movement for political freedom has pursued in the sphere of national government.

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It first contented itself with protests against excessive exactions, against all undue stretchings of the power of the capitalist; then its efforts broadened out to demands for restrictions upon the absolute character of such power, *i.e.*, by claiming for Trade Unions the right to make rules for the workers in the workshop; then it sought to still further curb the capitalists' power by shortening the working day, and so limiting the period during which the toiler may be exploited.

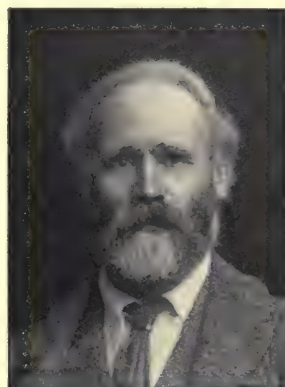


Photo: Russell.

MR. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

Finally, it seeks by Boards of Arbitration to establish an equivalent in the industrial world for that compromise in the political world by which, in constitutional countries, the monarch retains his position by granting a parliament to divide with him the duties of governing, and so hides while securing his power. And as in the political history of the race the logical development of progress was found in the abolition of the institution of monarchy, and not in its mere restriction, so in industrial history the culminating point to which all efforts must at last converge lies in the abolition of the capitalist class, and not in the mere restriction of its powers.

"The Socialist Labour Party, recognising these two phases of human development, incorporates them in its programme, and seeks to give them a concrete embodiment by its demand for a Socialist Republic."

But the above was not the pabulum supplied to the democracy by the leaders of the movement. They applied themselves directly, and through a host of working-class speakers, not to the exposition of fanciful principles of human development, but to the incitement



DR. MACNAMARA, M.P.

of popular discontent and appeals to cupidity. They set themselves to bring about a class war as a means of attaining their ideal of social justice. Their method, briefly described, was to exaggerate the wealth of the rich and the poverty of the wage-earner, to depict the state of the masses in the blackest colours and to argue that there was short toil and abundant comfort for all under a Socialist regime. The argument, crudely put, was that the national income was so much—the usual figure given was £1,920,000,000. Labour was the source of all wealth. The census tables showed that there were

over half a million adult men—about one in twenty—who had no occupation. They were idle rich. They and others lived on Rent and Interest. Rent and Interest together absorbed £700,000,000 of the yearly income of £1,920,000,000. Profits and salaries would account for a further sum of £490,000,000 yearly. Some eighteen million adult workers of both sexes created by their labour this £1,920,000,000; and their share of it for the support of themselves and their families, after deducting the items mentioned, was the balance—£730,000,000. Abolish rent and interest, profits and salaries, and, as a natural consequence, for the support of the producer there would be the total of his product, £1,920,000,000. That was the statistical argument. Obviously rent and interest could be withheld only by confiscation of all property, and before such a confiscation could be carried out a civil war would have to be fought to a finish; but this last contingency was conveniently left out of sight, and it was assumed that the owners of property would consent to be legislated out of existence. In brief, the case put before the democracy was that, so far from there being an insufficiency of wealth, there was so great an abundance that all could live in comfort by moderate labour if the Legislature devised equitable means of distribution. No one could be better fitted thus to legislate than a Socialist. Therefore the working classes should vote for Labour-Socialist candidates. That was the appeal.

The campaign was pressed with skill and assiduity by tongue and pen in every Trade Union, in every mine and factory and workshop, in many a market-place and street corner up and down the country.

It made unsuspected progress during the 'nineties, though its effects were not noticeable in the "khaki" election of 1900, at least not in the composition of the new House of Commons. The tactics were then modified and attention concentrated upon social changes which it was thought practicable to achieve pending the entire reconstitution of society. The theoretical aspects of Socialism, and the economic reasoning by which it was sought to give the theory substantiality, were allowed to fall into the background and specific political reforms advocated, to the principles of which, in some cases, neither party could object since they were already embodied in legislation, or, where that was not so, had been advocated by enlightened men on humanitarian grounds. Here, for example, is a programme embracing propositions in which the Socialists were not far ahead of certain sections of non-Socialist opinion :

" 1. A maximum of a 48-hour working week, with the retention of all existing holidays and Labour Day, the 1st of May, secured by law.

2. The provision of work to all capable adult applicants at recognised Trade Union rates, with a statutory minimum of sixpence per hour.

In order to employ the applicants remuneratively, Parish, District, Borough, and County Councils to be invested with powers to :

- (a) Organise and undertake such industries as they may consider desirable.
- (b) Compulsorily acquire land ; purchase, erect, or manufacture buildings, stock, or other articles for carrying on such industries.

(c) Levy rates on the rental values of the district, and borrow money on the security of such rates for any of the above purposes.

3. State pensions for every person over 50 years of age, and adequate provision for all widows, orphans, sick, and disabled workers.

4. Free secular, moral, primary, secondary, and university education, with free maintenance while at school or university.



Photo : Pendry, Nottingham.
MR. WILL CROOKS.

5. The raising of the age of child labour, with a view to its ultimate extinction.

6. Municipalisation and public control of the drink traffic.

7. Municipalisation and public control of all hospitals and infirmaries.

8. Abolition of indirect taxation and the gradual transference of all public burdens on to unearned incomes, with a view to their ultimate extinction.

The Independent Labour Party is in favour of adult suffrage, with full political rights and privileges for women, including the extension of the franchise on the same terms as granted to men ; also triennial Parliaments and second ballot."

Here is part of another—the programme of the Social Democratic Federation. It starts with the abolition of the monarchy and of the House of Lords, goes on to repudiation of the National Debt, State maintenance of school-children, nationalisation of the land, railways, docks, canals, and public ownership and control of everything from gasworks to cemeteries :

“ A legislative eight-hour working day, or 48 hours per week, to be the maximum for all trades and industries.

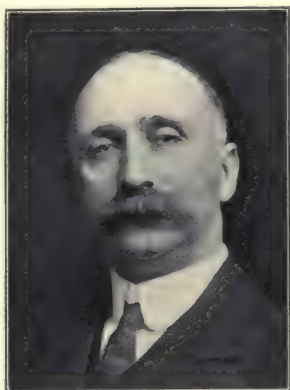


Photo: Russell.

MR. RICHARD BELL, M.P.

Imprisonment to be inflicted on employers for any infringement of the law.

Absolute freedom of combination for all workers, with legal guarantee against any action, private or public, which tends to curtail or infringe it.

No child to be employed in any trade or occupation until 16 years of age, and imprisonment to be inflicted on employers, parents, and guardians who infringe this law.

Public provision of useful work at not less than Trade Union rates of wages for the unemployed.

Free State insurance against sickness and accident, and free and adequate

State pensions or provision for aged and disabled workers. Public assistance not to entail any forfeiture of political rights.

The legislative enactment of a minimum wage of 30s. for all workers. Equal pay for both sexes for the performance of equal work.

Abolition of the present workhouse system, and reformed administration of the Poor-Law on a basis of national co-operation.

Compulsory construction by public bodies of healthy dwellings for the people, such dwellings to be let at rents to cover cost of construction and maintenance alone, and not to cover the cost of the land.

The administration of justice and legal advice to be free to all ; justice to be administered by judges chosen by the people ; appeal in criminal cases ; compensation for those innocently accused, condemned, and imprisoned ; abolition of imprisonment for contempt of court in relation to non-payment of debt in the case of workers earning less than £2 per week ; abolition of capital punishment.

The disestablishment and disendowment of all State churches.

The abolition of standing armies, and the establishment of national citizen forces. The people to decide on peace and war.

The establishment of international courts of arbitration.

The abolition of courts-martial ; all offences against discipline to be transferred to the jurisdiction of civil courts.”

With programmes such as these, which professed to satisfy the demands of the people for easier conditions of life and labour independently of self-reformative efforts by the people themselves—with

programmes which held out to the worker the promise of relief even from the natural obligation of maintaining his own children—the marvel is that the converts to Socialism were not numerous enough to send Socialists by the score to the new Parliament. At its best the conversion was but superficial, as events have since proved, the General Election of 1910 showing a sharp reaction against Socialism; but from first to last the campaign had been cleverly organised. Under the generalship of Mr. Keir Hardie, who had learnt the tricks of party and political organisation in the House of Commons during the 1902-5 Parliament, the Trades Unions had been mastered by the Socialist members within them and marshalled into line with the Socialist party. He had formed the idea of an Independent Labour Party, and had induced the Trades Unions and the Socialist societies alike to agree to form and support financially a distinct Labour group in the Commons, with its own chairman and whips, and a policy of co-operating with either party in forwarding labour legislation. Having got thus far, he endowed the group with a constitution which contained this definition of objects and prescribed a line of conduct:

“To secure by united action the election to Parliament of candidates promoted, in the first instance, by an affiliated society or societies in the constituency, who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament with its own whips and its own policy of Labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties, and not to oppose any other candidates recognised by the committee. All such

candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by the decisions of the group in carrying out the aims of this constitution, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only.”

Not all the Trade Unions would then accept the constitution or give the pledge, but the majority did so. The effect of this astute manœuvre was that Socialists appealed for the democratic vote as Labour men, not as Socialists. The votes



Photo: Russell.

MR. G. N. BARNES, M.P.

cast for them were not, therefore, the measure of the strength of Socialism among the people. Many must have voted for Socialists who were not themselves Socialists. On the other hand, Independent Labour Party candidates who were Socialists made no secret of the fact. The people knew for what opinions they were voting, and that the Independent Labour Party was a Socialist party or nothing. Though the successes of the party at the polls, in so far as they accounted for the growth of Socialism in these islands, may be subject to qualification, the results showed that there were thirty-one *de facto* Socialists in the new

Parliament. It was a more significant thing than the dismissal of Mr. Balfour from Manchester and the rejection of Mr. Chamberlain's policy. One result of the election was that this policy was made a little less obscure by an interchange of letters between the two champions of fiscal change. Mr. Balfour informed Mr. Chamberlain that his own opinion was that fiscal reform was and must remain the first constructive work of the Unionist Party, and that the objects of such reform were to secure more equal terms of competition for British trade and closer commercial union with the Colonies. He thought that while it was unnecessary to prescribe the exact method by which those objects were to be attained, and inexpedient to permit difference of opinion as to these methods to divide the party, "the establishment of a moderate general tariff on manufactured goods—not imposed for the purpose of raising prices or giving artificial protection against legitimate competition—and the imposition of a small duty on foreign corn are not in principle objectionable and should be adopted if shown to be necessary for the attainment of the ends in view or for purposes of revenue." Mr. Chamberlain wrote entirely agreeing with this expression of opinion. On the basis of these letters the Unionist Party tried to conceal its troubles. Mr. Balfour was generously afforded a safe means of ingress to the House of Commons by the resignation of one of the members for the City of London.

The King opened the new Parliament in full state on the 19th of February. The Speech from the Throne contained many personal passages: the death of the King of Denmark, which had prevented the

Queen from accompanying him "on the important occasion of the opening of the new Parliament"; the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to India, and the loyal reception then being given them; a recent visit to England of the King of Greece, "who is so closely related to me." Responsible government was promised for the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. "In order to establish responsible government in the Transvaal Colony," said the Speech, "I have decided to recall the letters patent which provided for the intermediate stage of representative government, and to direct that the new constitution be drawn up with as much expedition as is consistent with due care and deliberation in all particulars. The directions that have been given that no further licences should be issued for the importation of Chinese coolies will continue in force." The Speech had an implied reference to the fiscal controversy and the verdict of the country upon it. "I note with satisfaction," it said, "that the imports and exports of the country continue to show a steady and accelerating increase, and, together with the growing activity of trade at home, indicate that the industries of my people are in general in a sound and progressive condition." The legislative programme was thus set forth: "My Ministers have under consideration plans for improving and effecting economies in the system of government in Ireland, and for introducing into it means for associating the people with the conduct of Irish affairs. It is my desire that the government of the country, in reliance upon the ordinary law, should be carried on, so far as existing circumstances permit, in a spirit regardful of the wishes and sentiments of the Irish



THE KING ON HIS WAY TO OPEN PARLIAMENT.

Photo: Haines.

people, and I trust that this may conduce to the maintenance of tranquillity and of good feeling between different classes of the community. The social and economic condition of the rural districts of Great Britain require careful consideration. Inquiries are proceeding as to the means by which a larger number of the population may be attracted to and retained on the soil, and they will be completed at no distant date. A Bill will be laid before you at the earliest possible moment for amending the existing law with regard to Education in England and Wales. Bills will also be submitted to you for dealing with the law regulating Trade disputes and for amending the Workmen's Compensation Acts; for the further equalisation of rates in the metropolis, and for amending the Unemployed Workmen Act." And there was the usual lengthy list of measures of minor importance.

Thus began the momentous Parliament of 1906, with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman commanding a majority, inclusive of the Nationalists, of 356 over the Unionist remnant. But the real master of the situation was not the Liberal Prime Minister. It was Mr. Balfour, who, though he had only 157 supporters in the Commons, could obstruct the work of the new government whenever he chose by influencing the Conservative majority in the non-elective House of Lords to the detriment of all such progressive legislation as they and he, in common with his friends, disliked. One wonders whether King Edward appreciated that fact as he saw the crowd of the Commons at the other end of the House of Lords when he was reading the speech from the Throne, and whether, if he did, he had any premonition of what that portended.



"PARLIAMENT SITS": THE ELECTRIC LIGHT SHINING IN
BIG BEN'S TOWER.

CHAPTER III

THE ANGLO-FRENCH SETTLEMENT

King Edward Visits France and Italy—Why the King went without Ministers—Sir Edmund Monson's Influence—King Edward as a Reconciler of Nations—Victor Emmanuel III. Visits Paris—The German Emperor in Rome—The European Situation in 1903—Exciting Times in Russia—A New Triple Alliance Mooted—England and France Adopt International Arbitration—The 1904 Agreement—Matters in Morocco—Their Effect on Egypt—Disappearance of the Dual Control—King Edward at Copenhagen.

WHEN King Edward visited France and Italy in the spring of 1903, he was unaccompanied by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—a matter which caused some concern to those who look with jealous eyes upon any exercise of personal initiative by the Sovereign. Nor in subsequent visits to foreign states, which it will be our duty to describe in this volume, did His Majesty think it necessary to put himself in Foreign Office leading strings, much to the mental disturbance of the sticklers for Constitutional propriety, who were fearful lest he should have a thought on foreign relations which might not be in harmony with Ministerial views. The matter was one of essential importance, for the principle that the Sovereign himself has no foreign policy, and can have none except such as may be devised for him by Ministers responsible to Parliament, is a fundamental principle closely affecting the very existence of a limited monarchy. It is a necessary principle also, because it is within the limits of possibility that any dynasty may produce a foolish king, who might wish to deflect national policy, against the will of Ministers and the interests of the country, for the gratifica-

tion of personal ill-will. Sovereigns are not immune from the ordinary defects of human nature. Like quite ordinary people they have their little differences among themselves. They are often related by ties of marriage. Differences of temperament produce family jars among them, even as among members of obscure families whose little discords concern only themselves. History is too full of the personal quarrels of kings, which have been made the quarrels of peoples also, for a civilised nation unreservedly to commit its destinies in foreign affairs to any sovereign, however wise and competent or however capable of subordinating his own affection for one reigning relation or dislike of another to the obligation to judge solely in the interests of his country. Monarchs come and go. Old dynasties pass; new ones arise. The State alone endures permanently, in so far as there is permanence in human affairs. Conditions may conceivably arise in modern times in England, as they have many times arisen in all countries where a monarch has exercised his own will, when a Sovereign may wish to go one way and his Ministers another, to the embroilment of the nation in a needless war if the Sovereign insists upon leading

in diplomacy rather than in keeping step with his constitutional counsellors. Therefore it is a safe principle that when on visits to foreign states, which are not merely an interchange of personal and family amenities, the Sovereign of England should say nothing and do nothing which is not in complete harmony with the policy of his Cabinet for the time being; and for the due observance of that principle there could be no better safeguard than the company of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. But principles have to be applied with common sense, and pressed or relaxed with due regard for circumstances and personalities. What might have been necessary in the case of a young Sovereign, or of one wilful and headstrong, known to have views of his own which might prove to be impolitic, was, as events were to show, unnecessary in the case of a Sovereign of ripe age and experience of affairs, whose wishes were in perfect accord with those of his Ministers. Indeed, had King Edward been accompanied by Lord Lansdowne on his visit to France, it is not improbable that the effects of his visit would have been small, not from any fault of that distinguished negotiator, whose knowledge of affairs is profound, and whose success as Foreign Minister was unquestionable, but because the French people would not have responded to overtures for friendship which emanated from the British Government with the same alacrity and fulness as they responded to what they regarded as the personal initiative of King Edward. The essence of the original visit was its spontaneity, its personal quality, its expression of the good-will of the Sovereign for a people to whom he had always felt drawn. Had

it been part of an explicitly avowed diplomatic pilgrimage, beginning at Lisbon and ending at Paris, with the Foreign Secretary present at every conversation, it might have left the French nation cold, and deprived Ministers of that moral support which afterwards enabled them to arrange a definitive understanding with Great Britain. Moreover, in so far as King Edward's conversations with M. Loubet and other official personages were held in furtherance of Foreign Office hopes or plans for a reconciliation with France they were conversations in which His Majesty had the aid of Sir Edmund Monson, the British Ambassador at Paris. Though there was no Minister in attendance on the King during his tour, he had at his right hand the one man who knew all the details of the group of questions then at issue between France and England, and all the personal and other factors in the problem of settling them, better than these could have been known to a Foreign Minister who had the problems of the entire world to master.

That the visit was much more than an interchange of civilities was soon apparent. For reasons which lie outside the scope of this narrative there had been a noticeable coolness between Italy and France. After King Edward's stay in Rome* and Paris, the two Governments drew more closely together, and arrived at an understanding. Whether, and if so how far, King Edward contributed to this beneficial result may be recorded in the archives of the Foreign Office, but cannot be set down here, for whatever negotiations there were were confidential. It will be obvious, however, that with Italy and England fast friends, England and



KING EDWARD VII.
(After the Painting by P. Tennyson Cole.)



PRESIDENT LOUBET AT THE GUILDHALL.

France could not be equally sure friends unless France and Italy were reconciled. This was done shortly after King Edward came back to London, and when M. Loubet returned the King's visit in the following July the conversations he had with His Majesty and Lord Lansdowne in all likelihood covered Franco-Italian as well as Anglo-French relations. The

reconciliation of the two Latin peoples was sealed by a visit of the King of Italy to Paris—an event temporarily delayed by the illness and death of Leo XIII., with whom King Edward had been long in conversation a few months before. King Victor Emmanuel was received by the Parisians with immense enthusiasm. The idea had dawned upon them that if only contentious matters could be arranged with England the detachment of Italy from the Triple Alliance would be merely a matter of time; and this seems, by the way, to have been early apprehended

by the German Emperor and his advisers, for scarcely had King Edward left Italian soil than the Emperor William paid a visit to his illustrious ally in Rome. It was reported that he was received with but temperate enthusiasm. The Italian people had already turned their eyes from Berlin to Paris. Those who looked North looked past Berlin to St. Petersburg, whither

King Victor Emmanuel had been in the previous year. Russia and France were allies. Since reconciliation with France was a thing to be desired, so also was friendship with the friend of France. The Czar was anxious to come to Rome and to repay King Victor's call. But in Italy

Socialism was stronger even than in France, in Spain, and in Germany; and there were Anarchist groups which the police could not extirpate. Something very like revolution was proceeding in Russia, and the suggestion of a visit by the Czar enraged the Socialist parties beyond measure. They threatened to hoot and hiss him in the streets. He would certainly have been the object of an offensive demonstration, and with this in prospect the Czar prudently found that his many occupations compelled him to defer his journey to Rome. But outside the Socialist factions there was a new spirit of friendli-

ness towards Russia because Russia was the ally of France. Men who reflected on these incidents, and related them to the first international activities of King Edward, saw a new threefold unity arising in Europe—conceivably a fourfold unity if only England and Russia



THE MEETING OF KING EDWARD AND THE KING AND QUEEN OF ITALY.

could adjust their misunderstandings. But this last seemed too visionary for realisation. The rivalries appeared too well established, though, as a matter of fact, Lord Lansdowne had attempted to arrange a settlement with Russia about Persia and the Indian Frontier States before the outbreak of the war between Russia and Japan. Time was to show that they were not beyond the solvent power of King Edward's diplomacy, and that his personal influence with the young Czar was above that which any Minister could exercise. But that is another story, as is also the position of Germany, who, meanwhile, was being left alone; she looked on with cold displeasure at developments which, whether they were intended to isolate her in Europe or not, did, in fact, isolate her.

While this new idea of a tripartite understanding between England, France, and Italy was sinking into men's minds in the three countries, public men and bodies of private citizens seeking the while to

further its acceptance by interchanging visits and courteous messages, the diplomatists of France and England were hammering out a comprehensive settlement of all outstanding disputes. Lest they might fail in this, they had concluded an Agreement which provided that, with certain exceptions, questions arising between them of a juridical character, or relating to the interpretation of existing treaties, should, if not capable of settlement in the ordinary course of diplomacy, be referred to the permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague. That in itself automatically removed many questions out of the danger zone. But it left outside the scope of automatic arbitration any question which either Power might regard as one of vital interest, or as a question of honour. In both countries it was heartily welcomed as a prelude to a definitive clearing up of all causes of quarrel. Throughout the winter the diplomatists toiled at their task; and it is reasonable to assume that



Photo: Hills & Saunders.

Duke of Connaught Queen Helena Queen Alexandra King Victor Emmanuel III. King Edward VII. Prince of Wales (George V.) Princess Victoria Princess Charles

AN INTERESTING ROYAL GROUP.

if there was one phase of public affairs in which King Edward took a closer interest than in any other it was this. On the 8th of April, 1904, King Edward had the satisfaction of knowing that an Agreement was signed in London which by mutual give and take disposed of all definite causes of dispute between the two nations. A bargain had been struck. The *rapprochement* had become an *entente*. Only new and unforeseen events could now create misunderstandings—and happily none arose during the remaining years of King Edward's occupancy of the Throne.

There were three distinct groups of questions which had caused friction, always more or less acute, and sometimes dangerous, between the two Governments, and there were others which may be grouped as miscellaneous and of insufficient interest or importance to be specifically mentioned. The three were Newfoundland, West Africa, and Egypt.

In Newfoundland the French had rights under the Treaty of Utrecht which gave them the use of some two-thirds of the coast-line of the island and thus paralysed the economic development of the island. The "French shore" and the use made of it by the French fishing fleet sterilised the efforts of the islanders to utilise the resources of the country. That, in brief, had been the situation for nearly two centuries, varied by frequent quarrels between the fishermen of the two nations—quarrels taken up by their respective Governments and pressed or not pressed as the exigencies of diplomacy seemed to require. There had been perpetual disputation about the intention of the framers of the Treaty of Utrecht and of subsequent Instruments modifying it, and time and again the diplomatists had attempted to remove this potential cause of war. Successive failures so angered the Newfoundlanders that they attempted to cripple the French fishing industry by



NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERMEN AT WORK.

legislation prohibiting the sale of bait to French fishermen elsewhere than on the French shore, and on this account there were frequent collisions between the fisher-folk on shore and at sea. Meanwhile the "French shore" was derelict, except for the purpose of drying fish. All useful local developments, as well as mining and other enterprises, were blocked by the fact that so long as the French rights existed there could be no security of tenure. By the Agreement of the 8th of April the French Government abandoned once and for all their right of landing. The "French shore" ceased to be. An open and festering sore, which had almost driven the Newfoundlanders into hostility to the Imperial Power, was healed for ever. Provision was made for indemnifying French subjects having buildings and property on the shore. But, as compensation for the renunciation of the Treaty right, generous concessions were made to France in West Africa—concessions which she greatly desired in order to give geographical completeness to her possessions in that remote region, where, by the splendid efforts of her explorers and soldiers, she had carved out for herself an empire not less extensive than our own. On the Gambia access to the navigable portion of the river was given to France and also certain islands opposite to Konakri, ceded because of their strategic value to the capital of French Senegambia. But the chief concession was a rectification of the Franco-British Nigerian boundary, as settled by the Convention of 1898. This boundary compelled the French convoys from French Nigeria to Lake Tchad to pass over a circuitous and waterless route. A portion of Northern Nigeria was cut off and pre-

sented to France so as to give her direct access to Lake Tchad through French territory. Certain tribes were transferred with the territory from the one Power to the other. France had given up a "French shore" in the North Atlantic, which was of slight economic value to her; we had given in exchange an extensive tract of the western Soudan, which was of no particular use to us and could quite easily be done without. The international effect of the Agreement under these heads was to destroy vexatious grievances on both sides; the local effect in Newfoundland was to liberate resources which had been locked up by the eighteenth-century treaty makers and, in West Africa, to cause French and English soldiers and administrators to work together henceforth as brothers instead of rivals. King Edward had been in Newfoundland in 1860, but never since; his sailor son—the present King—had several times been there, and must have been very well acquainted with the "disgruntled" mood of the islanders. A message which they sent when they knew of the Treaty must have been especially gratifying to His Majesty. The Ministry there telegraphed to the Colonial Secretary, through the Governor, conveying the respectful and humble acknowledgments of the people of Newfoundland for the great boon conferred upon them, "which they appreciate that His Majesty was mainly instrumental in initiating."

Let us turn now to the larger matters of Egypt and Morocco. With the situation in Egypt as it was after the French withdrawal from Fashoda the reader is already acquainted. But of Morocco nothing has yet been said. The Sultan, Mulai Abdul Aziz, had exhibited that form of Oriental

enlightenment which consists in the unlimited purchase of European gewgaws and the entertainment of European adventurers. As France was his next-door neighbour by virtue of her possession of Algiers, and as his taste was for French luxuries, French adventurers were the more numerous. French political influence thus became stronger than that of any other nation. Between England and France the rivalry for the Sultan's affec-

tions was strong; but it must be confessed that successive Missions of ours to the Court at Marakesh were not remarkably fortunate. For the upkeep of his extravagances the Sultan had to tax his people rapaciously. They objected to the taxation; they objected still more to the Western notions which he derived from the Infidel. There were revolts against his authority, and the country fell into such dire confusion that it began to be



LAKE TCHAD. SOUDAN.



mooted whether it would not be worth the while of a European Power—say France or England—to take it over, or at least to bolster up the Sultan in such a way that trade with the country could go on with reasonable safety for Europeans living or visiting the country. But

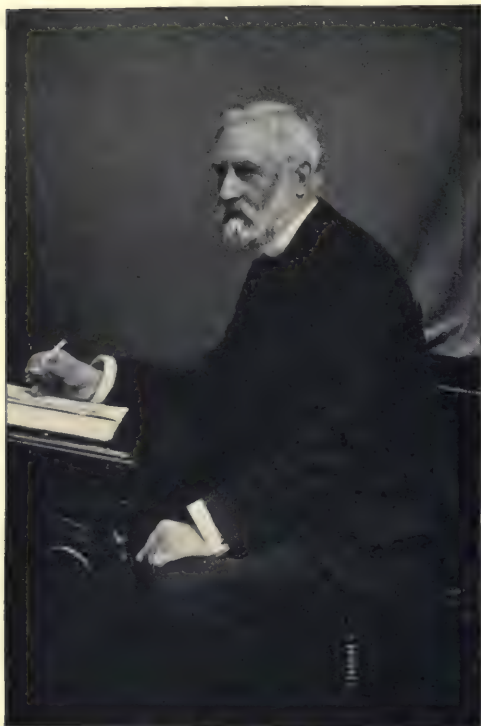


Photo: Bassano.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR EDMUND MONSON.

to intervene in Morocco was like putting one's hand into a hornet's nest. Neither Power wanted the job. Each nation suspected the other of wanting it, and each was determined to prevent the other making any arrangement with the Sultan to the disadvantage of herself. That was the situation at the opening of King Edward's reign, the difficulties of the Sultan increasing yearly.

In 1902 the country was aflame with revolt from end to end, and in that state it continued during 1903, the two facts that emerged from the confusion being that somehow or other the Sultan still kept the field against the tribes in rebellion, and that French statesmen had made up their minds that upon France devolved the responsibility of restoring peace to the country—possibly of adding it to her Colonial Empire. The issue for England was whether she should stand in the way of this benevolent French ambition. By the Agreement of the 8th of April, 1904, she decided to stand aside from Morocco and let France have a free hand in that region. It was not very heroic, but it was certainly prudent. "It seems not unnatural," wrote Lord Lansdowne, in explanation of our policy of aloofness, "that France should regard it as falling to her lot to assume the regeneration of the country. Her Algerian possessions adjoin those of the Sultan throughout the length of a frontier of several hundred miles. She has been compelled from time to time to undertake military operations of considerable difficulty, and at much cost, in order to put an end to the disturbances which continually arise amongst tribes adjoining the Algerian frontier—tribes which, although nominally the subjects of the Sultan, are, in fact, almost entirely beyond his control. The trade of France with Morocco is, again—if that across the Algerian frontier be included—of considerable importance, and compares not unfavourably with our own. In these circumstances France, although in no wise desiring to annex the Sultan's dominions or to subvert his authority, seeks to extend her influence in Morocco, and is ready to submit to



M. CAMBON AND LORD LANSDOWNE SIGNING THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT.



CEUTA: SPAIN'S POSSESSION IN MOROCCO.

sacrifices and to incur responsibilities with the object of putting an end to the condition of anarchy on the borders of Algeria. His Majesty's Government are not prepared to assume such responsibilities or to make such sacrifices, and they have therefore readily admitted that if any European Power is to have a predominant influence in Morocco that Power is France. They have, on the other hand, not lost sight of the fact that Great Britain also has interests in Morocco which must be safeguarded in any arrangement to be arrived at between France and Great Britain. The first of these has reference to the facilities to be afforded to our commerce, as well as to that of other countries, in Morocco. Our imports to that country are a considerable percentage of the whole; and it is obvious that, given improved methods of administration, a reform of the currency, and cheaper

land transport, foreign trade with Morocco should be largely increased—an increase in which British merchants would certainly look to have their share." Lord Lansdowne pointed out that the British Convention with Morocco of 1856 gave British subjects the right to reside or travel and trade freely in Morocco, and entitled the British Government to appoint Consular officers and establish Consular jurisdiction over British subjects. "It would have been impossible," he added, "to consent to any arrangement which did not leave these rights intact and the avenues of trade completely open to British enterprise." A second condition, which France had also readily accepted, was that on certain portions of the Moorish littoral no Power should be allowed to establish itself or to erect fortifications or strategical works of any kind. A third was that Spanish interests, political and

territorial—Spain owns a strip of the Moroccan littoral—should receive special consideration on any settlement of the Moroccan question.

The foregoing will have made the situation clear. The Anglo-French Agreement of the 8th of April exchanged certain French interests in Egypt for English interests in Morocco. We print the first four articles of that part of the Treaty under the heading of "Declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco":—

"Art. I. The Government of His Britannic Majesty declares that it has not the intention of changing the political state of Egypt.

"On its side the Government of the French Republic declares that it will not impede the action of England in this country by demanding that a term should be fixed

for the British occupation, or in any other way, and that it gives its adhesion to the draft of the Khedivial decree which is appended to the present document, and which contains the guarantees considered necessary for the safeguarding of the interests of the holders of the Egyptian Debt, but on condition that after the enforcement of the Decree no modification will be allowed to be introduced without the assent of the signatory Powers to the Convention of London of 1885.

"It is agreed that the general direction of Egyptian antiquities will continue to be, as in the past, entrusted to a French *savant*. The French schools in Egypt will continue to enjoy the same liberty as in the past."

Thus disappeared the last vestige of the Dual Control of Egypt.



THE MARKET PLACE, TANGIER.

Photo: Mr. Consul White.

" Art. II. The Government of the French Republic declares that it has not the intention of changing the political state of Morocco.

" On its side, the Government of His Britannic Majesty recognises that it appertains to France, notably as the Power coterminous with Morocco over a vast area, to watch over the tranquillity



M. PAUL CAMBON.

of this country and to lend it her assistance for all administrative, economic, financial, and military reforms which it requires. It declares that it will not impede the action of France in this respect, with the reservation that this action will leave intact the rights which, in virtue of treaties, conventions, and usage, Great Britain enjoys in Morocco, including the right to engage in coasting trade between Moorish ports, from which British ships have benefited since 1901.

" Art. III. The Government of His

Britannic Majesty on its side will respect the rights which by virtue of treaties, conventions, and usage, France enjoys in Egypt, including the right of coasting trade accorded to French ships between Egyptian ports.

" Art. IV. The two Governments, equally attached to the principle of commercial liberty, as much in Egypt as in Morocco, declare that they will lend themselves in neither country to any inequality either in the establishment of Customs duties or other taxes, or in the establishment of railway rates. The trade of both nations with Morocco and Egypt will enjoy the same treatment as regards transit through French and British possessions in Africa. . . . This reciprocal engagement holds good for a period of thirty years. Failing an express denunciation at least a year in advance, this period will be prolonged for successive periods of at least five years. However, the Government of the French Republic in Morocco and the Government of His Britannic Majesty in Egypt reserve to themselves the right of seeing that road, railway, and harbour concessions, etc., are granted under such conditions that the authority of the State over these great enterprises remains entire."

The final Article is vital:—

" Art. IX. The two Governments agree to lend each other the support of their diplomacy for the execution of the clauses of the present declaration relative to Egypt and Morocco."

Other matters disposed of by the Agreement related to Madagascar and the New Hebrides, and may be noted here merely as marking the comprehensiveness of the settlement. "Such a settlement," wrote Lord Lansdowne, "was



Photo: Hughes & Mullins, Ryde, I. of W.
EDWARD VII. AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA.



THE ROYAL YACHT *ALEXANDRA*.
(Built in 1907.)

Photo. supplied by Messrs. A. & J. Inglis, Ltd., Glasgow.

notoriously desired on both sides of the Channel, and the movement in its favour received a powerful impulse from the visit paid to France by His Majesty King Edward VII. in May last and by the return visit of President Loubet to this country. Upon the latter occasion the President was accompanied by the distinguished statesman (M. Delcassé) who has so long presided over the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is a matter for congratulation that his presence afforded to His Majesty's Government the great advantage of a full and frank exchange of ideas. It left us in no doubt that a settlement of the kind which both Governments desired, and one which would be mutually advantageous to both countries, was within our reach." Lord Lansdowne concluded an exhaustive analysis of the compact by inviting the nation to regard it from the point of view of the relations of the two Powers with the Governments of Egypt, Morocco, and Siam. In each

of these countries it was obviously desirable to end a system under which the Ruler had to shape his course in deference to the divided counsels of two great European Powers. Such a system led to intrigue, to attempts to play off one Power against another, and could scarcely fail to sow the seeds of international discord, demoralising alike to the tutelary Powers and to the weaker State which forms the object of their solicitude. "Something will have been gained if the understanding happily arrived at between Great Britain and France should have the effect of bringing this condition of things to an end in regions where the interests of those two Powers are specially involved. And it may perhaps be permitted to them to hope that, in thus basing the composition of long-standing differences upon mutual concessions, and in the frank recognition of each other's legitimate wants and aspirations, they may have afforded a precedent which will

contribute something to the maintenance of international good-will and the preservation of the general peace."

King Edward was at Copenhagen, with Queen Alexandra, when the Agreement was signed, the occasion of their visit being the eighty-sixth birthday of King Christian. They were away for a fortnight, and by the time they returned public discussion of the Agreement had subsided. Having regard to the operative importance of the Agreement as determining the future of North and Central Africa, and as ending the long and embittered controversy about Newfoundland, there was but little discussion. The mass of the people do not concern themselves with the matters of fact which attain colossal proportions in the minds of diplomatists. If Great Britain had given away half British West Africa as compensation to France for quitting a portion of the Newfoundland coast, the public would have been quite satisfied. The nation had shown no acquisitive

yearnings for Morocco, and was quite content that France should have a free hand there. It did not appreciate the value of what we were getting in exchange in Egypt; and as to Siam and Madagascar it had forgotten all it ever learned when these countries seemed to offer France and England something which it might be worth while to fight about. In the adjustment of this and that controversy, the great public showed little interest; but in the central fact that France and England had wiped the slate clean and written upon it something new, which proclaimed to all the world that henceforth they would march shoulder to shoulder and would uphold each other in certain specific questions, very keen interest indeed was taken. Nothing less than a miracle had been worked. The Government, as is the way of Governments, posed as the miracle workers, and Ministers went about the country to proclaim their own sagacity and exalt their own achievements. But



THE ROYAL YACHT VICTORIA AND ALBERT.
(Built in 1899.)

Sir Michael Hicks Beach expressed the mind of the nation when he gave the credit for the new situation to King Edward. It was His Majesty who had created the atmosphere of friendship by going to France with outstretched hand. Anglo-French relations might have continued to be formally correct had he never

gone, or had his visit been merely one of civility, uninformed by large and generous ideas; but had there been no King Edward it is tolerably certain that there would have been no Agreement of April, 1904. It was he who had worked the miracle and had initiated a more harmonious grouping of the Powers.



KING EDWARD VII. TAKING EXERCISE.

Photo : Temple.

CHAPTER IV

KING EDWARD AND THE CZAR

The Passing of Russophobia—Anglo-Russian Relations—An Opportune Time for Readjustment—The Effect of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement—How the Reconciliation came about—A Royal Understanding—A Character Sketch of Nicholas II.—His Wooing and Wedding—The Plans of Alexander III.—The Incidents of 1894—The Czar's Friendship for England—The Disarmament Proposals of 1899—The Peace Rescript—How it was Received in England—What the Germans Thought of the Matter—The Conference at the Hague—The Formation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration—The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907—Tibetan Matters on a Firmer Basis—Indian Boundary Friction Removed—An Improved Position in Persia—The Meeting at Reval—Russian Internal Politics—The Dumas—The Party on the *Standard*—The Return Visit to England—Nicholas at Cowes—An All-round Reconciliation.

SO narrow is the mental horizon of the average politician that anyone who had suggested that in the first decade of the twentieth century Englishmen would have ceased to think of Russia as a Power bent on the conquest of India and the absorption of Persia would have been rated as a madman. If there was anything which seemed to be set beyond the limits of the achievable in international politics it was an Anglo-Russian reconciliation by the elimination in a formal Treaty of causes of quarrel in the Middle East. If there was one idea more firmly fixed in the English mind than any other, it was that Russia was a Power whom it was inevitable we should meet again in armed collision, this time on the frontiers of India. There is no evidence that King Edward admitted any such inevitability. On the contrary, there is much to suggest that the idea was excluded from his mind when he came to the Throne; and it is as certain as anything can be that he used his influence to destroy it in the minds of others, and that the Anglo-Russian pact of 1907 is attributable to him in the same sense as the Anglo-French agreement dis-

cussed in the preceding chapter. If we come to ask ourselves why he rejected an idea which had been the common property of English statesmen and people since Disraeli headed Russia off from Constantinople, and how he succeeded in accomplishing what both Russian and English statesmen had made little effort to accomplish, because both were convinced that it was impracticable and had approached Anglo-Russian questions in a mood of mistrust, if not of downright ill-will, the answer is that he knew the Czar of Russia, and therefore, as Sovereign, he could the better succeed with another in doing that which governments and diplomatists could not or would not attempt to do. Undoubtedly the circumstances were propitious for an adjustment of Anglo-Russian relations after the Russian reverses in Manchuria and the destruction of the Russian fleet. By the renewal for ten years from the 12th of August, 1905—at the very moment the peace negotiations at Portsmouth seemed likely to come to nothing—of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Great Britain had for the time being made her position in the Far East and in India secure against attack from any quarter, and especially

against Russia. Any combination of Powers against Japan, had the peace negotiations failed, would have brought the fleets and armies of England into co-operation with those of Japan. Any aggression by another Power, or Powers,



THE DOWAGER EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.
(Sister of Queen Alexandra.)

on the independence and integrity of China, or on the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China, would have had a like effect. Any invasion of India by Russia or allies of Russia would have brought the Japanese troops and warships to our aid. That Alliance made ulterior designs upon India hopeless for ten years at least. Equally true is it that Russia was not then in a position

to pursue the plans with which she had been credited. Her fleet was gone; her armies were exhausted, though very far indeed from being demoralised, much less destroyed; her administrative machinery had broken down under the strain of the war and of internal revolution; she needed a period of external peace during which she could recuperate and reform herself. She was not, in fact, in a position to act in any hostile sense against us in India or in the Far East, presuming that she still cherished hostile feelings. All that may be assumed from the surface facts. But, if it be assumed, there was still no necessity for her to come to any formal arrangement with us. No pistol was presented at her head. She was under no obligation to make overtures, or to give courteous and sympathetic attention to overtures made to her. Smarting under repeated reverses by land and sea, from an enemy whom she had despised as a pagan inferior, it would have been intelligible had she sulked and withdrawn herself from avoidable intercourse, especially with a nation which was in express alliance with her enemy for the purpose of defeating what had been her policy. Rent as she was by internal disorders, plunged into uncertainty as to whether her immediate future would be under a monarchical or republican regime, Russia would have been held excused if she had said and done nothing and had allowed England to go on thinking that since her legions had been barred in their southward course in Eastern Asia, they would surely press through the passes of Afghanistan and the border States. But she did not sulk. Her attitude was that of a friend, not a foe. Not that her people in the mass knew what that attitude was or ought to



Photo: Levitzsky.

EMPEROR NICHOLAS II. OF RUSSIA AND HIS FAMILY.

H.N:

be. Outside St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Odessa the Russian peasant thought no more about England than a shepherd on the Cotswold about the nomads of Central Asia. England did not exist for him

by the wrangles about China, by the bluster and chicanery of her diplomatists from the time they began to oust English officials from the railways of North China until they ordered British warships out

of Port Arthur. They had been angered by the criminal stupidity of the firing into the North Sea fishing fleet. They were not sorry to see Russia set back in the Far East, and their sympathies leaned towards the revolutionaries. The desire for a settlement—the originating impulse—certainly did not come from either the people of Russia or of England. Whence came it? From the statesmen? A study of the diplomatic correspondence of the period supplies a negative answer. Each of the negotiators was trying to over-reach the other. Each was playing, and quite rightly, for what he regarded as the interests of his country. The one side was asserting principles incompatible with the principles asserted by the other. There were aggressions and counter-aggressions. The diplomacy was like a game



RUSSIAN PEASANTS.

unless he had heard of it as a country with a Parliament such as the reformers of his own race wished to set up in St. Petersburg. It was not the people of Russia, then, who sought a settlement and peace. It was not the people of England. Their hearts had been hardened against Russia

of chess. It was a war of brains. Most certainly it was not a co-operative attempt to agree upon a line of action just to all parties affected by the issues. In their hearts the diplomatists must have wished things otherwise. Neither Lord Salisbury nor Count Mouravieff could have

taken pleasure in disputations which might at any moment have issued in bloodshed. They had to play to win and yet to strive to keep the peace. The honours of the game were divided and the peace was kept—at least between England and Russia. There their office ended. So far as is known, neither Lord Salisbury nor

reign at home and abroad, was also a man of peace. He and King Edward were close friends—as close friends as men and relations could be considering the disparity of their respective ages, a disparity of little moment in view of the co-equal immensity of their responsibilities for keeping the peace of the world. From



THE FORTRESS OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, ST. PETERSBURG.

ny of the successive Russian Foreign Ministers proposed a concordat. When Lord Lansdowne succeeded Lord Salisbury he suggested a settlement; but the idea fell on barren Russian ground. If, then, a revival came neither from peoples nor statesmen, from whom did it come? The inference is that it came from Edward II., or from the Czar, or was an impulse common to both. King Edward had determined to seek peace and ensure it. The Czar, paradoxical as it may sound, having regard to certain events of his

the thought of war with Russia King Edward would have shrunk with abhorrence. We have failed utterly in divining and presenting his mind and character if the reader is not already convinced of that. Is it not equally reasonable to think that from the thought of war with England Nicholas II. would also have shrunk with equal dread? Let us see what manner of man the Czar Nicholas is. Perchance some reader will have seen him; he was not infrequently to be seen when he was Czarevitch, for he was often in this

country, and did his wooing here. In those days he was a shy, reserved, thoughtful young man; in height and build and mien singularly like his cousin Prince George, our present King, distinguishable from him only by the darker hue of hair and beard and a certain square-headedness. Many an hour has he sat looking down upon the House of Commons, silently studying the working of representative institutions in this country, speaking to no one, coming and going like a man who moved alone among his fellows. Many a summer afternoon did he spend on the Thames above Walton when the Princess Alix was the guest of Prince Louis of Battenberg, after the opposition of Queen Victoria to his courtship of her beloved grand-daughter had been overcome. That courtship was a delicate theme in the English Royal

Family. Princess Alix was very beautiful, but it was believed that she had inherited her mother's frailty of constitution. The Czarevitch himself was not robust. He was reputed to be the subject of recurring depression, which the gossips attributed to a love affair which the Emperor had interrupted. Of that he had been cured by his tour round the world with Prince George of Greece, but in this he had suffered a bad injury, the Royal party incurring the hostility of a Japanese zealot by insisting upon an inopportune visit to a shrine. But for the strength and readiness of Prince George, a sword-cut would have ended the Czarevitch's life. Queen Victoria questioned the wisdom of the courtship on grounds of health, and it can well be believed that she hesitated at the prospect of the child of Princess Alice sharing so perilous a place



SCENE ON THE UPPER THAMES.

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

as the Russian throne. Moreover, there were religious difficulties, for it was obligatory upon a future Empress of Russia to join the Greek Church. The Czar Alexander had quite other plans for his son, and counselled—or commanded—a marriage with one of the daughters of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro, that little Principality which in 1910 was recognised by the Powers as a Kingdom, with Nicholas as King. How these opposing influences were eventually overcome by the good offices of the Grand Duke

Serge of Russia, who had married a sister of Princess Alix, and by the Duchess of Edinburgh this is not the place to tell. It is enough to say that the father yielded, that Queen Victoria yielded, that the Czarevitch wooed and won his bride in the Thames Valley, and that the marriage took place. He had formed a strong friendship for King Edward; his wife was English rather than German; his memories, his sympathies, his personal associations bound him to England more closely than to any other country save his own. He ascended the throne in 1894, his father dying in middle life. With what political ideas did he take up his



THE CZARINA.

appalling task? To answer that question would be to give a reading of Russian history since 1894 which would probably be fanciful, for few indeed can have the knowledge which would enable them to detach the Czar from the Grand Ducal and Ministerial influences which encompassed him. But he seems to have been something of a visionary, and to have set his heart upon advancing the cause of peace. In 1898 he startled the cynics and won the fervent enthusiasm of the humanitarians by making proposals for a gradual dis-

armament of the nations. That showed at least that his heart was in the right place, and that if he was given to musing it was upon noble themes. Dreamers have their place in the scheme of things, and for rulers to dream of a world disarmed is surely to the good. The vision of the Czar Nicholas had passed through the refining fires of Count Mouravieff's criticism. In his observations to our Ambassador—then Sir C. Scott—the Count observed that his Imperial master did not invite a general disarmament, as that would not be likely to be acceptable; nor did he look for an immediate realisation of his aims, but

*Photo: Elliott & Fry.*

SIR C. S. SCOTT.

thought that the fact that the initiative in this peaceful effort was being taken by the greatest military Power, with resources for increasing its military strength unlimited by Constitution and Parliamentary restrictions, would appeal to the heart and intelligence of civilised nations, and show the discontented classes of society that powerful military governments were in sympathy with their desire to see the wealth of their countries utilised for productive purposes rather than exhausted in a ruinous and to a great extent useless competition for increasing the powers of destruction. The Czar's first rescript, out of which grew the Hague Conference and the consequent Permanent Board of Arbitration, is therefore of profound interest. We give it in full because it is an essential fact in a peace movement with

which King Edward VII. was in entire sympathy and forwarded with all the strength at his command. He at least was no cynic, and did not join the chorus of scoffers. On the contrary, he acted with his illustrious relative, as we shall presently see, and kept alive his faith in the central idea of the rescript notwithstanding the clash of arms which resounded throughout the world because of the inability of Russia herself to keep the peace with Japan.

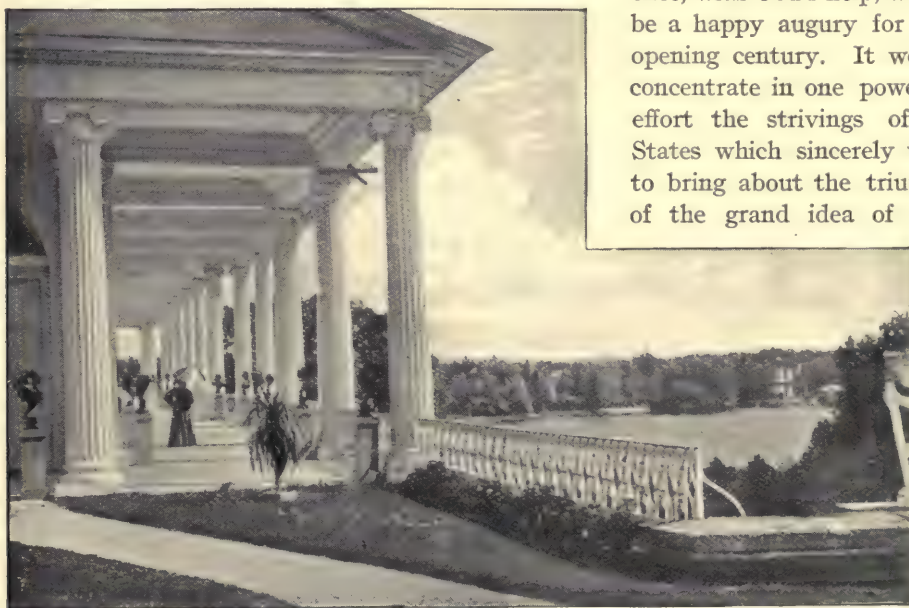
"The maintenance of general peace," declared the rescript, "and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations represent, in the present condition of affairs all over the world, the ideal towards which the efforts of all Governments should be directed. This view fully corresponds with the humane and magnanimous intentions of His Majesty the Emperor, my august Master. Being convinced that this high aim agrees with the most essential interests and legitimate aspirations of all the Powers, the Imperial Government considers the present moment a very favourable one for seeking, through international discussion, the most effective means of assuring to all peoples the blessings of real and lasting peace, and above all of limiting the progressive development of existing armaments. During the last twenty years aspirations towards general pacification have particularly asserted themselves in the consciences of civilised nations. The preservation of peace has been made the aim of international policy; for the sake of peace the Great Powers have formed powerful alliances, and for the purpose of establishing a better guarantee of peace they have developed their military forces in an unprecedented degree, and continue



to develop them without hesitating at any sacrifice. All these efforts, however, have not yet led to the beneficent results of the desired pacification. The ever-increasing financial burdens strike at the root of public prosperity. The physical and intellectual forces of the people, labour and capital are diverted for the greater part from their natural application and wasted unproductively. Hundreds of millions are spent in acquiring terrible engines of destruction which are regarded to-day as the latest inventions of science but are destined to-morrow to be rendered obsolete by some new discovery. National culture, economical progress, and the production of wealth are either paralysed or developed in a wrong direction. Therefore, the more the armaments of each Power increase the less they answer to the objects aimed at by the Governments. Economic disturbances are caused in great

measure by this system of excessive armaments, and the constant danger involved in this accumulation of war material renders the armed peace of to-day a crushing burden more and more difficult for the nations to bear. It consequently seems evident that if this situation be prolonged it will lead inevitably to that very disaster which it is desired to avoid, and the horrors of which make every humane mind shudder by anticipation. It is the supreme duty, therefore, at the present moment of all States to put some limit to these incessant armaments, and to find means of averting the calamities which threaten the whole world. Deeply impressed by this feeling, His Majesty the Emperor has been pleased to command me to propose to all Governments who have Representatives at the Imperial Court the meeting of a Conference to discuss this grave problem. Such a Confer-

ence, with God's help, would be a happy augury for the opening century. It would concentrate in one powerful effort the strivings of all States which sincerely wish to bring about the triumph of the grand idea of uni-



THE TERRACE AT TSARSKOYE SELO.

Photo: Photochrom Co.



versal peace over the elements of trouble and discord. It would, at the same time, cement their agreement by a united affirmation of the principles of law and equity on which rest the security of States and the welfare of peoples."

An immediate reply, other than a sympathetic acknowledgment, was impossible, owing to the absence of Lord Salisbury abroad and of members of the Cabinet.

Queen Victoria expressed her full sympathy with the proposals, and the Government promised to delegate a representative to the proposed Conference. A programme was drawn up defining the

aims of the Conference as : (i.) To check the progressive increase of naval and military armaments and study any possible means of effecting their eventual reduction ; and (ii.) to devise means for averting armed conflicts between States by the employment of pacific methods of international diplomacy. For political reasons it was judged to be inexpedient that the Congress should meet in the capital of one of the Great Powers, and the Hague was therefore selected, and the Netherlands Government issued the invitations. The Conference met in the summer of 1899, our Chief Plenipotentiary



Photo : Miss Frances Johnston.

THE LATE LORD PAUNCEFOTE IN HIS STUDY.

being the late Lord Pauncefoot. The Conference failed on the subject of the limitation of armaments owing to the refusal of the German Government to accept the principle of reduction. They did not consider that the German people were crushed by the weight of armaments, or that they, in common with other European nations, stood on the brink of an abyss, as had been argued by the Russian and other advocates of reduction. The standard of living in Germany was being raised yearly. Germany did not regard compulsory service as a burden, but as a sacred and patriotic duty to which it owed its existence and on which its prosperity and future depended. Each people created its own system of national defence, in accordance with its history and traditions, and with due regard to its geographical situation; and for such national duty it was not possible to substitute an international act. That was the German argument; and therefore, as the one military Power which equalled or possibly excelled Russia in strength held aloof, the Conference came to nothing on this

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principle, though it did useful work in further defining and regulating the conduct of war. But with regard to mediation and arbitration it succeeded magnificently. The Czar had the satisfaction of seeing the Conference agree upon Conventions explicitly declaring the functions of mediation between quarrelling Powers and setting up a Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague. To that Court several frontier disputes have been referred, with the happiest results to the



THE HALL AT THE HAGUE IN WHICH THE PEACE CONFERENCE WAS HELD.

disputants, and as a result of the Peace Conference many Treaties have been made between States, binding them to arbitrate at the Hague on matters not affecting their vital interests and honour. During the reign of King Edward, such Treaties were made by England with many other Powers, great and small. Dreamer the Czar may have been; rudely were his dreams dispelled, at the Conference itself by Germany, and by the march of events which he himself was unable to control within his own dominions; but he accomplished much. The Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague will carry his name through the centuries as a man of peace despite the wars and troubles of his reign. If circumstances were too strong for him, he none the less strove for peace and kept faith with his ideal. So far as he was personally concerned, it is all too probable that he was unaware of the real urgency of the Japanese demands, and did not apprehend that Japan would spring upon Russia as she did, without further notice or at least a formal declaration of war. Be that as it may, he did succeed in holding back the Anglophobes who regarded England as the instigator of Japan, and would have made war upon us on that account; and when Admiral Rodjestvensky committed his appalling blunder in the North Sea, it was the Czar who came forward with an immediate disavowal and apology. When the inner history of that year is known, it will not improbably be found that King Edward and the Czar Nicholas were in constant and confidential intercourse with the purpose of keeping England and Russia at peace, notwithstanding untoward incidents such as were almost certain to occur, and did occur, as witness the Russian seizures

of English vessels, in themselves acts of war done despite the wishes of the Czar.

This conclusion, therefore, is suggested—that an Anglo-Russian *rapprochement*, which seemed impossible during the latter years of Victoria and the earlier years of King Edward, became possible, not because of the course of events as between the two nations, but notwithstanding them and because King Edward and the Czar Nicholas were of one mind. They were both Rulers, with ties of relationship, and they were fast friends. They had one ideal in common, the preservation of peace. There did not exist between them the mists of suspicion and misunderstanding that had clouded the minds of their respective statesmen. What the diplomatic contestants could not of themselves do—namely, drop their controversial weapons—they could ask to be done. By virtue of their position and authority as Sovereigns they could search out together principles of accommodation which they could require their Ministers to interpret in a formal Treaty. This is what was done; and how it was done shall now be briefly set forth.

All outstanding questions with Russia in Central Asia were cleared up by a Convention signed on the 31st of August, 1907. English apprehension of a Russian invasion of India, or of conflict with Russia over Persia, where for many years there had been what Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, the new Viceroy of India, has described as “senseless” friction and rivalry between the diplomatic agents of the two Powers, was dissipated by that Treaty. The Russian Government declared therein that Afghanistan was outside the Russian sphere of influence, and undertook to act in all political



MAP SHOWING THE ADVANCE OF RUSSIA TOWARDS INDIA.

relations with Afghanistan through the Government of India and not to send agents of her own to the court of the Ameer. The British Government, on the other side, declared that it had no intention of altering the *status quo* in Afghanistan, and would not annex or occupy any part of that country, or act so as to encourage Afghanistan against Russia. It was agreed that neither Power should seek to obtain preferential trade conditions. The principle here was equality of commercial opportunity. This part of the Treaty was subject to the notification to Russia of the consent of the Ameer, who receives a subsidy of £120,000 a year from

the Government of India. By a Treaty with the late Ameer Abdurrahman Khan, made in 1893, and renewed by his successor, Habibullah Khan, in 1905, the Ameer is pledged to accept the advice of the Indian Government as to his relations with foreign Powers, and in return is guaranteed by the British Government against unprovoked aggression on his dominions. With regard to Tibet, which is subject to the Suzerainty of China but had been entered by persons believed to be Russian agents and by a British Indian expedition under Colonel (now Sir F. E.) Younghusband in 1903 because of alleged breaches of commercial arrangements, each

Power undertook to respect the territorial integrity of Tibet and the Suzerainty of China. They pledged themselves not to seek for themselves or their subjects railway, road, telegraph or mining concessions in Tibet, or to send missions, scientific or other, into the country. This was a reversal by England of the "forward policy" in Tibet, which, at the instance of Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, had led to the Younghusband expedition ;



Photo : Bassano.

SIR F. E. YOUNGHUSBAND.

and in so far as that policy was attributable to the presence of Russian agents at the court of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa—and the evidence here is uncertain—it was also a reversal by Russia of the policy of sending agents to countries on the Indian borders. Both Powers were to keep their hands off Tibet henceforth. But this exchange of declarations in the Treaty did not affect the validity of the Convention which Colonel Younghusband's mission had made for keeping open the trade routes from India, nor did it in any way interfere with the stipulation by

which Tibet agreed not to sell, lease, or mortgage territory to any foreign Power. So much for Indian questions. The effect was that there would be no more Russian missions, whether of diplomatists at Kabul or Buddhist subjects of Russia, ostensibly in need of spiritual instruction, at Lhasa. India was definitively ruled out of Russia's sphere of political influence. She had now no aspirations in that direction, whatever she may have had in the past, when her statesmen had sought to retaliate upon England in India for the English checkmate of Russian policy in the Near East.

With regard to Persia, each Government undertook to respect the integrity and independence of the country. Persia had early in 1907, after much internal convulsion, inaugurated a Constitutional Government with a Ministry, a National Council, and a Senate. The experiment was a doubtful success and much trouble ensued, but the two Powers gave the new Constitution a chance and, by agreeing to act together, ruled the Persian question out as a possible cause of war between themselves. Great Britain undertook to seek no political or commercial influence in the north, and Russia entered into an undertaking of a like character as to the south. Each agreed, in certain eventualities, such as the failure of Persian loan obligations, to exercise control over revenue sources only in its own sphere. The Persian Gulf question was not specifically mentioned in the Agreement. Great Britain had previously declared that she had special interests in the Gulf region, and had made it plain that her political influence in this inlet of the Indian Ocean and in that region of Persia contiguous to India and Afghanistan must



Photo : Bourne & Shepherd, Calcutta.

ON THE ROAD TO TIBET.

pass unchallenged whatever happened in Persia itself. That policy had been avowed to all the world, and had Russia crossed from the Caspian to the Gulf and made a military occupation of Persia—a design widely attributed to her—she would inevitably have come into conflict with Great Britain. The rigid division of

by Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary under the Liberal Administration, stated that His Majesty's Government had reason to believe that this question would not give rise to difficulties between the two Governments should developments arise which made further discussion affecting British interests in



TEHERAN.

Persia into spheres of influence—the land region alongside the Russian territories to Russia, and the south and the Gulf seaboard to Great Britain—thus prevented any such collision. It was not essential, though it might have been desirable, to include the Gulf question in the Treaty. But dispatches were exchanged on the signature of the Treaty which prevented any future misunderstanding on the Gulf question. A dispatch

the Gulf necessary; while M. Isvolsky, the Russian Minister, put it on record that the Russian Government recognised the special interests of Great Britain in the Gulf. Of this admission due note was taken by Sir Edward Grey.

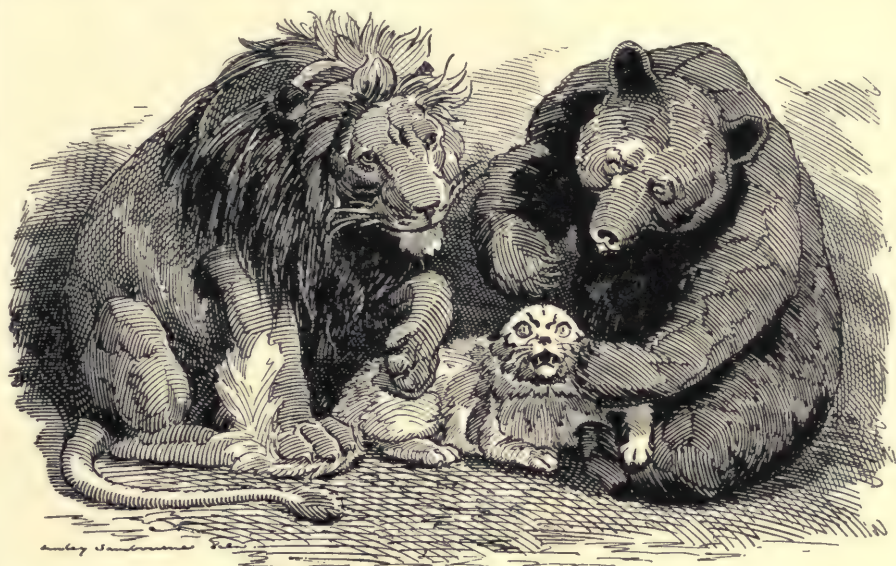
Punch hit off the situation very cleverly, as the picture which we are able to reproduce on the following page clearly shows. It shrewdly typifies the conditions of the Treaty, as interpreted

by the two signatory Powers and humorously depicts the utter helplessness of the alarmed and unconsenting third party.

There was a serious revolution in Persia during the last year of King Edward's reign, and at that time the

hensions of a Russian invasion, and people at home of that nightmare which had troubled them for so long—a war with Russia in that region. It is true that such apprehensions had been diminished by the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which would have

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—OCTOBER 2, 1907



THE HARMLESS NECESSARY CAT.

BRITISH LION (to RUSSIAN BEAR). "LOOK HERE! YOU CAN PLAY WITH HIS HEAD, AND I CAN PLAY WITH HIS TAIL, AND WE CAN BOTH STROKE THE SMALL OF HIS BACK."
 PERSIAN CAT. "I DON'T REMEMBER HAVING BEEN CONSULTED ABOUT THIS!"

By Permission of the Proprietors of "Punch."

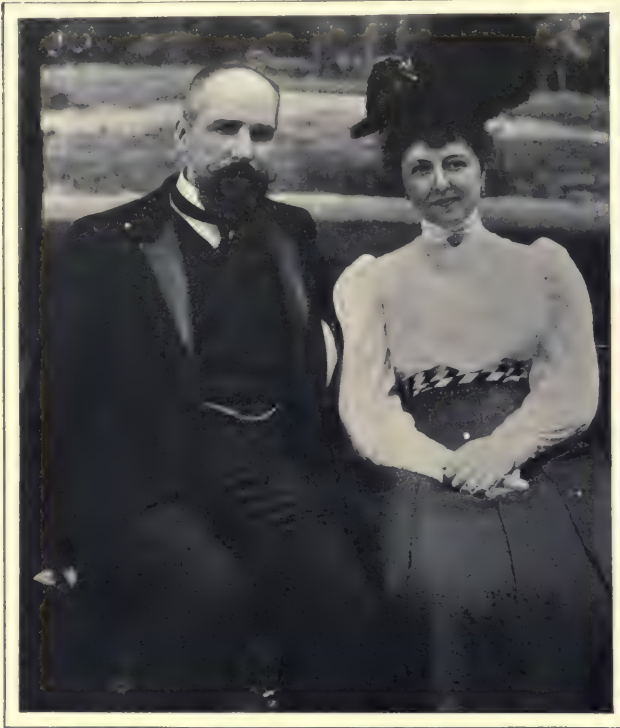
efficacy of the Convention was proved by the mutual restraint and cordial diplomatic co-operation between the two Powers. A condition of things which a year previously would have led to acute tension, and might have led to something much worse, was tided over without friction, and, indeed, to the consolidation of friendly relations. But the main effect of the compact was to relieve India of appre-

brought the armies of Japan to the north in the event of Russian aggression; but the uneasiness still lurked in the minds of Russophobists. The Convention abolished the causes of it. It freed the energies of Indian statesmen here and in the East from a set of considerations which had governed our military policy and our diplomacy for thirty years. Henceforth they could concentrate upon internal

Indian problems, which had by this time become menacing because of the unrest among the peoples of the peninsula. The reception of the Treaty was most favourable in both countries. Anglo-Russian hostility was a product of modern growth. Neither people had grasped the fact

way in getting access to a warm water port. Where the statesmen and the diplomatists failed was in seeing that whatever conflict of interests there was could be adjusted by mutual good-will. The good-will was lacking on the Russian side.

Who supplied the missing quality if King Edward and the Czar did not do so? True, inexorable facts had convinced the Czar that a further empire in Asia, carved out of Korea and North China and, in due time, of Japan, with an ultimate mastery of the Pacific basin, was a dream not to be realised in the present condition of the world. True, also, is it that the terrible condition of Russia itself compelled a withdrawal from external complications. But the Russian Government might have enwrapped itself in sullenness and obstinacy. The Czar was under no compulsion to accept or to proffer the hand of friendship. Whence, then, came the wondrous change of mood? Who initiated it if



M. AND MME. STOLYPIN.

that, though there must be contact of interests in the East, both Middle and Far, there was no real cause for collision. On each side the statesmen had failed to realise that there was room for both Powers, or at least one set of statesmen had done so, for Lord Salisbury's view was that in Asia there was room for all, and he, as we have seen, went very far in the direction of letting Russia have her own

King Edward did not?

The disturbed condition of Russia made it undesirable for King Edward to visit the Czar in his capital, and it was not until June, 1908, that the two Monarchs met in the harbour of Reval. By that time the atmosphere in Northern Europe had cleared. After great tribulation, a system of representative Government had got itself established. The first Duma was



Photo: Bulla, St. Petersburg.

THE THIRD RUSSIAN DUMA: FIRST MEETING OF THE DEPUTIES.

a failure. It was a Parliament of revolutionaries, and the Czar and the Council of Empire extinguished it. "Long live the Duma!" cried Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman when a number of its members visited London. And live it did. The principle of a Parliamentary system having once been admitted could not be set aside.

of his desire to work with the Duma, and he rallied to his support the best brains of Russia on a programme of Reform — financial, agrarian, judicial. Again the Duma proved to be an ineffective instrument. The revolutionary and anarchist elements were in too great force. The Socialist members made the Parlia-



THE FLEET AT REVAL.
Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

Nor did the Czar and his Ministers, as was shown by their acts, mean that it should be rejected. A second Duma was got together by a method of election which brought to the front men of less immoderate views. The times produced in M. Stolypin a statesman of vigour and capacity. He repressed the terrorists with merciless rigour; but he contrived large measures of social reorganisation. He convinced the people of the sincerity

mentary machine unworkable once more. Moreover, it appeared that they were carrying on a seditious propaganda in the army. That, at least, was the accusation. At a sitting in June, 1907, from which the Press were excluded, M. Stolypin asked for the suspension of the Socialists, declaring that unless that were granted by the Duma he would not be responsible for public safety. The issue was referred to a Committee of the Duma. Then the



QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND PRINCESS VICTORIA
ON THE ROYAL YACHT.

(Reproduced by special permission from Queen Alexandra's Private Collection.)



Nicholas II.

Empress Alix.

THE CZAR AND THE CZARINA.

Czar intervened. He issued a Ukase dissolving the Duma because of its manifest tendency to seek the disruption of the State and the inability of parties to work in accord for the interests of the country. The second Duma, therefore, went the way of the first. But contemporaneously a new electoral law was promulgated for the election of a third Duma. This came into existence in November, 1907, and proved to be a more reasonable and workable body. Not without violent convulsions were these three stages passed—assassinations by the party of revolution, savage repression of crime and agitation by the Government. However, all these things are not germane to our narrative. Suffice it to say that, with whatever strife and suffering, Russia organised herself anew between 1906 and 1908 on the principle that an elective assembly should determine what the laws of the country should be. She had, in theory at least, and to loyal and peaceable folk in practice, a Constitution based on freedom of conscience and of speech, on the inviolability of the person of the subject. She had ceased to be an abso-

lute autocracy; and she had passed through these troubles with the Czar still on his throne. The monarchy had, apparently, weathered the storm. That was the situation when the Anglo-Russian Convention was made. When King Edward and the Czar met at Reval in the following June the third Duma had settled down to work, and seemed to have justified the dissolution of its predecessors. However that may be—and it is not our business here to write of the internal affairs of Russia further than is necessary—a new day had dawned for the Northern Empire. She was at peace with the world; her people were on the high road to peace among themselves.

No English Sovereign had ever visited Russia, though King Edward when Prince of Wales had on various occasions been in the country. He was at the marriage of his brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, to the only daughter of the Czar Alexander II.; and in 1894 he attended the funeral of Alexander III. But since his accession he had not been in the country. The visit to Reval was in the company of Queen Alexandra and the Princess Victoria,

and the journey was made in the Royal yacht *Victoria and Albert*, with an escort of warships. Sir Charles Hardinge—now Lord Hardinge of Penshurst—accompanied His Majesty on behalf of the Foreign Secretary. Journeying through the Kiel Canal, Reval was reached after three days at sea. The Czar and Czarina, with their young son, the Heir-Apparent, were aboard their yacht the *Standart*, and with them were M. Stolypin, the Prime Minister, M. Isvolsky, the Foreign Minister, and Sir A. Nicolson, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. The conversations between the two Sovereigns and between the Ministers and diplomatists were reported to have reference to the Macedonian question—which was shortly to undergo a complete transformation by a peaceful revolution in Turkey and the deposition of the Sultan. The spirit in which the discussions proceeded may be gathered from the only speeches which were given out for publication. These were at the banquet on board the *Standart*. The Czar, in proposing the

health of King Edward, expressed the hope "that this meeting, while strengthening the many and strong ties which unite our houses, will have the happy result of drawing our countries closer together, and of promoting and maintaining the peace of the world." An allusion to the Anglo-Russian Convention was pointed by the observation that the arrangements, notwithstanding their limited scope, "cannot but help to spread among our two countries feelings of mutual good-will and confidence." The King, in proposing the health of the Czar and the Imperial family and the welfare and prosperity of the Russian Empire, declared his belief that the Convention "will serve to knit more closely the bonds that unite the peoples of our two countries, and will conduce to the satisfactory settlement in an amicable manner of some momentous questions in the future. I am convinced that it will not only tend to draw our two countries more closely together, but will help very greatly towards the maintenance of the general peace of the world."



The Czarevitch.
CHILDREN OF THE CZAR OF RUSSIA.

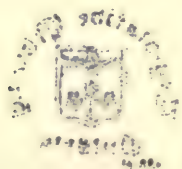
The King was made an Admiral of the Russian fleet, and the Czar of the British fleet. There were many meetings in the few days spent at Reval. The effect of this interchange of courtesies upon Anglo-Russian relations was undeniably good. It caused displeasure in only two quarters—the Anglophobic press of Ger-

many, which saw in the King's visit yet another attempt to isolate Germany, and the English Labour Party in the Commons, which, with singular dullness of apprehension, would have put the Czar outside the international pale because of the imprisonment of members of the first Duma for having advised Russians to refuse to



GRAND DUKE ALEXIS (THE CZAREVITCH) WITH HIS SAILOR FRIEND.

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.





DESTROYERS AT SPITHEAD.

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

pay taxes. The Czar and the Czarina, with their children, returned the visit in August, 1909, at Cowes. A mighty fleet was assembled at Spithead. There was a banquet on the *Victoria and Albert*. In proposing the health of the Czar and Czarina King Edward said: "I am glad, Sire, that you should have had an opportunity of seeing perhaps the most powerful and largest fleet that has ever assembled, but I trust that your Majesty will never look upon these ships as symbols of war, but, on the contrary, as a protection to our coasts and commerce, and above all for upholding the interests of

peace. I had an opportunity this year of receiving some representatives of the Duma, and I need hardly say what a pleasure it gave to me and the Queen to see them. I trust their stay here was an agreeable one. They had every opportunity of seeing many people and institutions of the country, and I hope that what they saw will increase the good feeling existing between the two countries." The Czar, in the course of his reply, said: "Fifteen years have passed since last I came to Cowes. I shall ever bear in mind the happy days spent with your beloved and venerated mother Queen Victoria,



THE FLEET IN REVIEW.

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

and the affection she bestowed upon me as upon the Empress her granddaughter. May the friendly welcome given by your Majesty and the Queen and by your people to the members of the Duma, and in the winter to my squadron, be a token of growing cordial relationship between our two countries founded on common interests and mutual esteem."

Three days were spent at Cowes—days in which the press was flooded with articles in praise of the Czar and all things Russian. On leaving England the Czar communicated through his Ambassador a message of farewell to the English nation: "The Emperor is deeply impressed by his visit to this country. The affectionate welcome accorded to him and

the Empress by the Royal Family, the reception given by the magnificent naval force which saluted him at Cowes, the attitude of British statesmen, people, and Press are all happy auguries for the future. It is the Emperor's firm desire and belief that this all too brief visit can only bear the happiest fruit in promoting the friendliest feelings between the Governments and peoples of the two countries."

The belief was justified. Distrust of Russia has ceased to exist in England. It could not survive the new influences which King Edward brought to bear upon Anglo-Russian difficulties.

The illustrations on pp. 60, 61, 74, 78, 79, 80 and 81 are from J. Foster Fraser's "Red Russia" and "The Real Siberia."



LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

CHAPTER V

THE ATTITUDE OF GERMANY

Anglo-German Diplomatic Rivalries—The Command of the Sea—German Activity in Naval Matters—Emperor William Calls for a Strong Navy—The Navy Vote in the Reichstag—The German Navy League—Great Britain Maintains her Lead—The Ebb and Flow of Public Feeling—Germany Misunderstands British Policy—Retaliating on the Colonies—Restlessness in Great Britain and Germany—Royalty at Kiel—Only a Family Visit—International Racing—The Emperor's Speech at the Banquet—Its Tone of Friendliness—King Edward's Reply—At the Kiel Yacht Club—Visit to Hamburg—The King Returns to London—The Arbitration Treaty Signed—Prince von Bülow's Pacific Speech—The Moroccan Surprise—The German Emperor's Visit to Tangier—A Critical Situation—King Edward's Flying Visit to France—The Algeciras Conference—The King and Queen's Visit to Berlin in 1909.

THROUGHOUT the reign of King Edward VII the English people had more or less cause for apprehension that they might find themselves in difficulties of the gravest character with Germany. The reign has passed. King Edward lived to see the difficulties diminish. He himself contributed to their diminution. But they have not disappeared, and their fundamental cause—the determination of Germany to share with us or wrest from us the supreme command of the sea—continues to operate. It is the governing factor in British Foreign policy, in expenditure on armaments, in delaying that reorganisation of national life and that co-ordination of Imperial resources which the present reign may witness. In view of the momentous issues inherent in Anglo-German rivalry in diplomacy, in armaments, in the struggle for trade in the markets of the world, restraint and moderation are imposed on a narrator of events. But the facts must be set forth in relation to the life and activities of King Edward. We shall endeavour to relate them in such a way that none can impugn the accuracy and fairness of the narrative.

We have already seen how the German Emperor's message to Mr. Kruger on the invasion of the Transvaal by the Jameson legion produced a new international situation. It was answered by the preparation of a flying squadron and by the announcement that in no circumstances would we permit the intervention of any foreign Power in our domestic affairs in South Africa. German intervention would have failed, because the fleet of Germany could then have been swept off the seas. Confronted with this fact Germany set about creating a great navy. The Emperor William took the lead. When dedicating certain standards of the Guards he made a speech calling for the organisation of a navy comparable in power with the army. Thus might the position of Germany abroad be secured. On the return of his brother Prince Henry from China he declared that the German people, with the princes and its Emperor, were preparing to forge an arm with which the black, red, and white flag would to all eternity at home and abroad maintain the dignity of the Empire. These speeches prefaced the introduction into the Reichstag of a Navy Bill which set forth in its



THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA ON BOARD THE *DEUTSCHLAND*.

preamble that the purpose was to create a navy so strong that a war with the mightiest naval Power would involve risks threatening the supremacy of that Power. With the provisions of the Bill as expressed by squadrons of battleships, with their cruiser and torpedo boat auxiliaries, the reader need not be concerned; British naval events of October, 1910, have, it is asserted, shown our supremacy and made probable some modification of German naval plans. The effect and purpose of the measure was in course of years to equip Germany with such a fleet as to enable her to defend her coasts and colonies and her mercantile marine against "the

mightiest naval Power." The arguments with which the Bill was supported in the Reichstag and in the country plainly showed that the fleet was to be built as a counterpoise to the British Navy. A Navy League had been started under most influential auspices, and under the spell of its appeals to German pride and patriotism the nation was induced to bear with patience the heavy taxation necessary to place Germany in the front rank of the seafaring nations. Year by year the German navy grew; and as it grew so did our own estimates. Measures had been taken to challenge our supremacy at sea. They were met by counter measures. Our lead was

maintained; but the compulsion to maintain it excited suspicion and irritation. During the war in South Africa there were incidents which caused tension. These have been sufficiently described in the chapter on South Africa. Their effect was to heighten unfriendly feeling between the two peoples, and when King Edward came to the Throne this had found its way into the public utterances of important men in both countries. The presence of the German Emperor at the funeral of Queen Victoria inclined the English people to a more generous view of him, and the new reign opened with the prospect of a revival of Anglo-German amity. This

revival, however, was seriously checked by the circumstance that the first foreign visit paid by King Edward was not to the German Sovereign. The visit to Italy caused uneasiness in Berlin, and the visit to France, with its resultant good understanding, gave rise to a suspicion that it was the intention of England to isolate Germany. This suspicion was intensified by the conclusion of the Anglo-French Agreement, and the *entente cordiale* was regarded with profound misgiving. In 1903 resentment was felt in Germany at the refusal of England, on financial grounds, to co-operate in the German scheme for the construction of a railway through Asia Minor to Bagdad; and there had been, and continued to be, much annoyance in England and Canada at German objections to non-inclusion in the preference arrangement Canada had made with England. Germany retaliated on Canada, and Canada on Germany by imposing a surtax on German goods. This dispute presented itself to the English mind as an attempt by Germany to veto preferences which British Colonies might grant to the mother country,

while to the German it was a genuine grievance not to be able to enter British colonial markets on an equal footing with Great Britain. German action against Venezuela and the participation in it of our own Government, which was accused of following the German lead, was also unpopular, though much more so in the United States, where Germany found it desirable to change her Ministry and send Prince Henry on a friendly mission to soothe American susceptibilities and offer assurances of Imperial respect for the Monroe doctrine. If it be not too trivial to notice, the German Emperor himself needlessly offended English sentiment by declaring at a military banquet that the German Legion, in conjunction with Blucher and the Prussians, had saved the English army from destruction at Waterloo. These, and like matters, coupled with the activity of the German Navy League, were attended by an incessant



THE GERMAN FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIP, BRANDENBURG.



ADMIRAL PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA,

Press polemic in both countries which had a disturbing effect on public opinion. A set of extremists came into existence in Germany who thought in terms of the invasion of England and the acquisition of her oversea dominions when a German navy should have been created strong enough to undertake such an enterprise ; and a similar set of extremists came into being in England who would have liked to pick a quarrel with Germany in order to break her naval power before it became formidable. Each set exercised an extraordinary and deplorable influence on public thought, not so much through the Press, which, on the whole, observed a becoming reticence, with one or two exceptions, as by private speech in social circles. The minds of women were inoculated with ideas of a coming conflict,

and the German bogey was conjured up by fair and silly conversationalists in dining-rooms and drawing-rooms. Mingled apprehension and defiance of Germany passed from exalted circles, where the mood was originated, through the upper and middle classes to the man in the street. The like process went on unchecked in Germany, and it was evident that in both countries powerful social influences were at work detrimental to peace. Against these influences, however, the democracies of both countries revolted. They saw clearly that no greater disaster could befall European civilisation than collision between these two mighty Empires ; but, while keeping the mischief-makers at arm's length, each democracy was resolved to maintain and increase its armaments. That was the situation during the reign of Edward VII., and it is still the situation now George the Fifth is King.

Some variety was given to the interminable jangle about Anglo-German affairs in the early summer of 1904 by the announcement that King Edward would pay a visit to the German Emperor at Kiel. Efforts were made at the outset to deprive it of any political significance. There was to be yacht-racing at Kiel, and both Monarchs were devoted yachtsmen. Their common interest in that seductive sport would account for the visit apart from close family relationship and considerations of dynastic courtesy. Thus the public were informed by the omniscient gentlemen of the Press, and thus the public believed, or at least that section of it which had forgotten that the Press had solemnly assured them that the King's first visit to

France was wholly devoid of political intent. So hard do conventions die that, notwithstanding the conclusion of the Anglo-French compact, the representation was that King Edward would confine his conversation with his illustrious nephew to yachts and the weather, and the tattle of respective Royal boudoirs and nurseries. As if the German Emperor, with his virile mind and impulsive rush of speech, could avoid great topics with such a guest! The feat would have been impossible to him. In France there was a little uneasiness lest any diminution of Anglo-German tension should imply any weakening of the *entente* with France which, from the French point of view, was regarded as an opposing influence against German diplomacy in Morocco. But this disquietude was appeased by assurances that the visit was one as between uncle and nephew only, and that, even if politics were discussed, it was inconceivable that King Edward would succumb to German influences or do aught but convince his august relative that the Anglo-French *entente* was essentially pacific and in no-wise directed against the Powers of central Europe, as the Emperor William had seemed to think might be the case, judging from rather tart speeches in which he had shown himself to be keenly alive to the altered international situation. That the German Emperor looked for an improvement in relations as a result of the presence of King Edward at the festivities at Kiel was apparent from a speech he made at a banquet after a regatta at Cuxhaven, shortly before His Majesty's arrival. His theme was that sports open to all nations were a factor in international solidarity, and he adorned it with all the skill and play of imagination

which make him so fascinating a figure on the stage of life. There was profound wisdom in play—in the contest of brains and crews and boats in the sportive and uncertain waters. In a few days there would be assembled there the flags of nearly all the civilised States—the English flag, the stars and stripes of America, the tri-colour of France would all be united in friendly rivalry. He was confident that there was none who did not share his view that in the Kiel week solidarity between nations would be cultivated and more firmly riveted. To this solidarity the merchant, the manufacturer, the agriculturist owed their power to labour in quietness for the progress of nations. Upon it they placed their trust in the future. Upon that future he himself looked with an absolute



PRINCE ADALBERT OF GERMANY
(The German Emperor's Sailor Son).



KING EDWARD VII. AND THE GERMAN EMPEROR MEET AT KIEL.

tranquillity. Clearly a high and agreeable frame of mind, thus expressed as a hint to his coming guest that yacht-racing was not an end in itself.

Germany did not view the visit merely as a family courtesy, and great prepara-

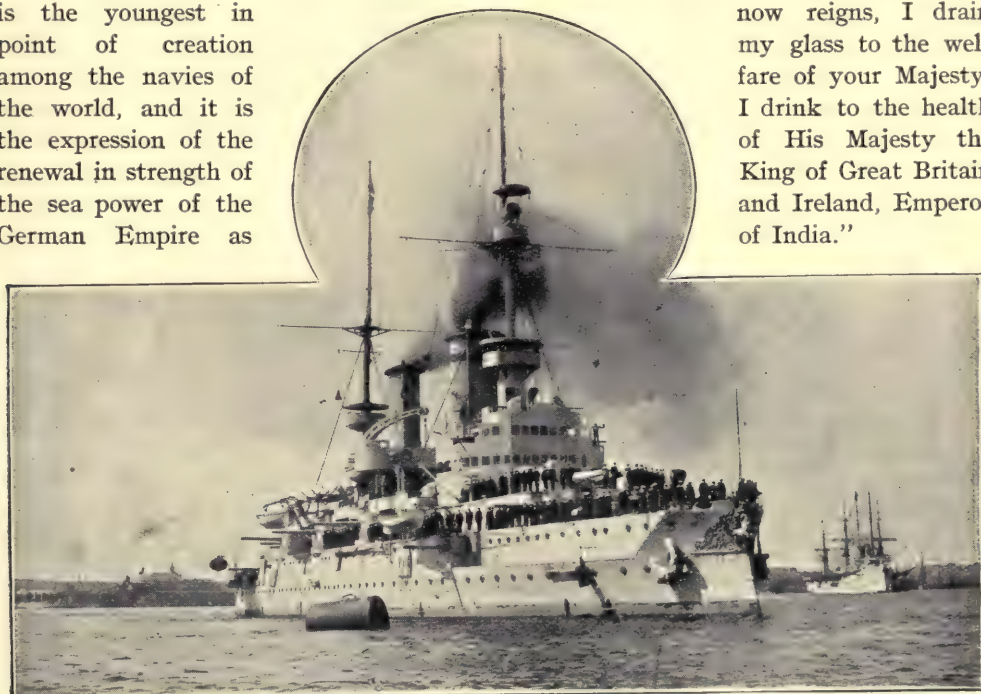
of the outlet into the Baltic, there was an imposing military display, the commander riding along the front of the troops and giving the military report to the King, who stood on the bridge of the yacht and acknowledged in due

tions were made at Kiel and at Hamburg, the senate of which city had invited King Edward to honour its inhabitants by his presence. Ascot over, and the social duties of a busy season at an end, King Edward and his suite embarked on the *Victoria and Albert*, and, under an escort of British warships, arrived at Brunsbüttel on the morning of the 25th of June. He landed there and inspected the guard of honour drawn up at the entrance to the canal, and during the passage through the waterway — a distance of 60 miles — he was escorted on both banks by squadrons of horse. At Rendsburg, a garrison town some twenty miles short

military form. The harbour at Kiel was crowded with warships and pleasure craft, and the King was accorded an imposing and magnificent reception. In the evening there was a gala dinner on board the *Hohenzollern*. Addressing his guests the Emperor William said:

"It affords me high satisfaction to offer to your Royal and Imperial Highness for the first time a welcome on board a German man-of-war. Selecting the sea route, your Majesty has come to German shores as the ruler of a great Empire which by virtue of the sea encircles the world; and you also have the kind intention of being present at the German yacht-race meeting. Your Majesty has been greeted by the thunder of the guns of the German fleet, which is delighted to see its Honorary Admiral. That fleet is the youngest in point of creation among the navies of the world, and it is the expression of the renewal in strength of the sea power of the German Empire as

reconstituted by the late great Emperor my grandfather, William I. Designed for the protection of the commerce of the Empire and of its territory, the navy, like the German army, helps to promote the preservation of that peace which the German Empire has kept for over thirty years, and in the preservation of which Europe has shared. Your Majesty's words and actions have made it plain to everyone that your Majesty's whole endeavour is directed towards this very object—the preservation of peace. As I also have devoted all my power to the achievement of this object, may God grant success to our endeavours. In indelible recollection of the hours which we spent together at the deathbed of the great ruler of the world-Empire over which your Majesty now reigns, I drain my glass to the welfare of your Majesty. I drink to the health of His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, Emperor of India."



THE GERMAN FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIP, KAISER FRIEDRICH III.

In that speech there was much politics of profound though pacific significance. So also was there in King Edward's reply :

" In expressing my most sincere thanks to your Imperial and Royal Majesty for the extremely kind words which your Majesty has employed in drinking to my health, I am happy to have this early opportunity of giving expression to my very high appreciation of the splendid reception which your Majesty has given me here. I am especially glad that it was possible for me to pay your Majesty a visit at a time of the year when I am ordinarily most occupied at home. The interest, however, which for many years I have taken in yachting exercised too great an attraction to allow me to miss the opportunity of convincing myself how successful your Majesty has been in inducing so many to become devoted to this sport in Germany. At the same time it was my desire, by renewed personal intercourse, to knit, if possible, even more closely those intimate family relations which have so long united our houses. Your Majesty's appreciative mention of my unremitting endeavours with a view to maintaining

peace has deeply touched me, and I am happy to be assured that your Majesty has the same object in view. May our two flags float beside one another to the most distant times, as they float to-day, for the maintenance of peace and for the well-being, not only of our countries, but of all other nations. I am proud to belong, as an Honorary Admiral, to your Majesty's navy, and my navy regards it as a high honour that your Majesty wears the British naval uniform, which was conferred upon you by my never-to-be-forgotten mother, whose memory is equally sacred to both of us. I raise my glass to the health of your Majesty. His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia, and her Majesty the Empress and Queen ! - Hoch ! - Hoch ! - Hoch ! "

And at the pressing of an electric button the German and British warships thundered forth in unison, and the fleets were outlined with decorative illumination. On the following day the King entertained the Emperor and Empress at dinner on the Royal yacht, and courtesies were interchanged between the officers and crews of the warships, who fraternised freely.



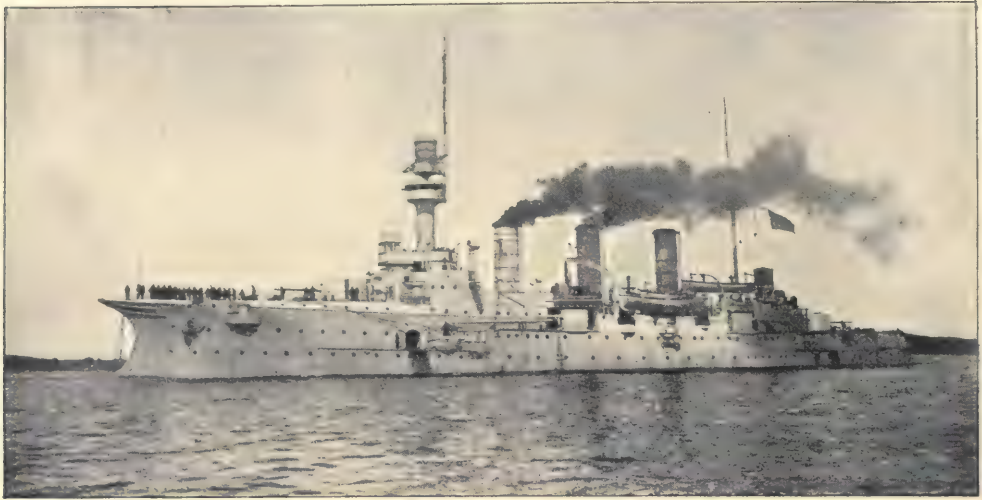
THE GERMAN FLEET

Apart from the yacht-racing, the prizes for which were distributed by the Emperor in the company of the King, His Majesty was made an honorary member of the Kiel Yacht Club, and the Emperor made a little speech with a happy allusion to his many visits to Cowes, where, as he said, he served his apprenticeship as a yachtsman. On Monday the 28th the King visited Hamburg, first making a tour round the harbour. On landing he went to the Bourse, where, as in the harbour, he was most enthusiastically received, and from there he went to the Rathaus, where he was entertained at luncheon by the Burgomaster on behalf of the senate and city. "I would ask your Magnificence," said King Edward, in reply to the toast of his health, "to accept my most profound thanks for the friendly and kind words with which you have just greeted me. I have more than once had the good fortune to pay a hurried visit to Hamburg, but I am particularly pleased to be able to accept your kind invitation. I may assure you that I shall never forget the way in which you have had the kindness to receive me—you, and the whole popu-

lation. I am well aware of the manifold relations between my country and this great city; they have existed for many centuries. May these good and friendly relations always continue! When I return to my own country I will take every opportunity of telling everyone how well and how cordially I have been received here. I am well aware that this reception was not only accorded personally to myself, but also to the great Empire of which God has appointed me to be the ruler. I would again thank you, and I drink to the High Senate of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg." Returning to Kiel, the King was present in the evening at a dinner given by Prince Henry of Prussia at the palace to the captains of the British warships. It was reported—the proceedings were private—that the Emperor made a speech reminiscent of his acquaintance with the British Navy in boyhood, and suggested that it was the admiration which he had then formed for the British fleet which had caused him to endeavour to create a navy suitable for German needs. King Edward was reported to have recognised in very friendly terms the



IN KIEL HARBOUR.

THE GERMAN SECOND-CLASS CRUISER, *VICTORIA LUISE*.

Emperor's lifelong interest in the English Navy and his knowledge of naval matters. The British and German navies, he was sure, would always welcome each other with the utmost friendliness in whatever waters they might meet. He would always remember with most happy feelings his visit to Kiel, and he drank to the health of the German Emperor, "with whom he had always been united in sincere friendship ever since they knew each other."

On the 1st of July the King returned to London. The visit had undoubtedly silenced recriminations in both countries; but more had unwisely been expected from it in Germany than it had been the purpose of either Sovereign to achieve. What had been spoken publicly, or with the intention of reaching the public ear, did not amount to much more than an Imperial justification of the existence of a great German fleet for the protection of German interests—a justification courteously meant for the relief of English mistrust—and a kingly expression of

hope and belief that the two fleets would never be in opposition. Some German publicists appear to have thought that definite results analogous to the Anglo-French Agreement would accrue; but there were no matters of fact at issue between the two Governments. The only German complaint against us was that our Foreign policy was being so shaped as to leave her outside a trinity—possibly a quartette—of Powers, with one of whom there was a feud not yet healed. But that was not a subject for any pact, nor were assurances upon it necessary beyond those implied by the King's response to the Emperor's speech on the *Hohen-zollern*. There was, therefore, no cause for German disappointment, except, perhaps, in a certain hardness of tone in the comments of the English Press, which in a feverish anxiety to play up to France and nurture the new born Anglo-French affection, over-emphasised the family and personal aspects of the meeting at Kiel, and ignored the spirit and intent of the



Emperor's observations touching the sea power of his own country in relation to that of his guest. When the discussion died down the relations between the two peoples were much the same as before. But the two Governments gave evidence that their relations were more than technically correct, for on the 12th of July a Treaty was signed for the reference to arbitration of any question that might arise not affecting vital interests and honour. Such a Treaty with France had been the prelude, it will be remembered, to the Agreement. During the year of the King's visit the German Navy League had beaten its drums loudly, and the Government had made substantial additions to the navy establishments. In the Reichstag, in December, Herr Bebel, the leader of the Socialist Party, denounced these increases and accused the Government of having created a belief in England that the German navy was being built for the object of striking a blow at that country.

Prince von Bülow made a reply intended to be heard outside Germany. The fleet was being built solely for defence. It was made necessary to Germany by the rapid increase of the fleets of other maritime

nations. There were too many maritime powers now for any one Power to claim universal dominion of the sea. What would a nation gain if it overthrew one of its maritime rivals? "I cannot conceive," he said, "that the idea of an Anglo-German war should be seriously entertained by sensible people in either country. They will coolly consider the enormous damage which even the most successful war of this character would work upon their own country, and when they reckon it out it will be found that the stake is much too high in view of the certain loss. For this reason, gentlemen, I, for my part, do not take the hostility of a section of the English Press too tragically. I hope that the destinies of the two countries will always be determined by those cool heads who know that the best advantage of Germany and England will be served not only for the present, but for all future time—so far as it is discernible to the human eye—by the maintenance of the present pacific relations."

But the idea of an Anglo-German war was unhappily entertained both in Germany and England by "sensible people," or at least by people who were quite sane on everything else. Anti-English



GERMAN TORPEDO-BOATS MANŒUVRING AT HIGH SPEED OFF KIEL.



feeling was noticeably rife in Berlin early in 1905. "War between England and Germany" wrote Baron de Reibnitz, "is unavoidable. Germany will issue from that war so exhausted financially that she will be incapable of keeping up an army equalling that of France. France must therefore be compelled to take sides either with or against us. If it is against us, we



Photo: H. Le Lieure, Rome.
PRINCE VON BÜLOW.

must go to France and fetch two milliards for every milliard which England would force us to use." With stuff of that sort was the German nation fed. There was, in fact, a systematic Press campaign to poison the German mind against England, and represent the Anglo-French *entente* as a combination—in which Italy, and possibly Russia also, would join—against Germany. The calumnies extended to King Edward, who was accused of thwarting German interests through France in Morocco. Lord Lansdowne was also attacked. In

the autumn of this year the English Government was approaching dissolution. Sir Edward Grey, upon whom would devolve the duties of Foreign Minister in the extreme probability of the Liberals coming into power, took occasion to deny that there would be any change of Foreign policy in that event. A better understanding with Germany would meet with no obstacle here provided that it did not impair our good relations with France. It was a qualification unpalatable to Germans, for what they wanted as a condition essential to harmony with themselves was that we should detach ourselves from France. In the summer a squadron of the English fleet had visited the Baltic in the ordinary course, and the presence of the warships off the German ports greatly irritated the sensitive Germans.

Earlier in the year England had experienced a sensation of surprise, and France something akin to alarm, by the sudden descent of the Emperor William upon the coast of Morocco, where Germany had inconsiderable commercial interests which she had used as the basis of an active diplomacy against French political ascendancy at the court of the Sultan. The English public had been led to believe that Moroccan affairs were solely a matter between France and England and the Moorish Sultan, with Spain thrown in because of her ownership of a strip of the Atlantic coast. They could not understand why the Emperor William should intermeddle with them. But intermeddle he did in his usual dramatic fashion. On the 29th of March Prince von Bülow made a statement in the Reichstag on German policy with regard to Morocco, and posed as the champion of the independence and integrity of the

country. To that, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, France was pledged. The German apprehension was that that pledge would be broken by the connivance of England, and Morocco become an enlargement of Algeria. It was a not inconceivable development, for things were at a critical pass between the Sultan and France, and dramatic developments

uniformed staff, and at the German Legation he held audience with delegates from the Sultan. The reports of what passed were to the effect that the Emperor had come to Tangier to maintain the equality of German commercial rights. The Sultan was a free agent in his own country. Germany would not deal with him through any other Power, and would



THE REICHSTAG BUILDING, BERLIN.

seemed imminent—probably would have occurred but for German intervention. Be that as it may, the world was startled by Germany's assumption of the rôle of protector of Morocco, and by the German declaration that the destinies of the country would not be disposed of without her consent, Anglo-French Agreement or no Anglo-French Agreement. That was the situation on the 30th of March. On the 31st of March the German Emperor landed at Tangier, attended by a brilliantly

never allow any other Power to act as intermediary between Germany and Morocco. What Morocco needed was peace and quiet rather than reform on European lines, and if money were needed for that end it would be quite easy to negotiate a loan in Berlin. That seems to have been the effect of what passed. The town was gaily illuminated; the inhabitants got up a great political demonstration in the Emperor's honour; and his Majesty and his suite returned

to the yacht conscious that they had opened a new chapter in diplomacy. It was the old story of one European Power being played off against another by a decaying State; of one European Power thwarting the policy of another in such a State for ulterior as well as for immediate objects. Undoubtedly Germany had commercial interests in Morocco in common with other Powers—interests which she was fully entitled to safeguard by direct intercourse with the Sultan, and in any way she thought fit. That those interests were small by comparison with those of France and England is beside the point. Undoubtedly, also, Germany had decided to put a spoke into the French wheel in Morocco, and to test the operative value of the Anglo-French understanding. It was a legitimate intervention, but it had the appearance of being hostile. Immense was the pride of Germany; extreme but restrained the resentment of France. For the moment the German Emperor was in the centre of the world's stage. France was checkmated in an enterprise on which her Ministers—though not the nation—had set their hearts. Was Morocco worth a war with Germany? That was the underlying issue for France. Clearly it was not worth a war, especially as it was humanly certain that Germany would be able to dictate peace on the banks of the Seine. Germany had chosen her ground well. The Emperor was within his rights in going to Tangier and in supporting the principle of the integrity and independence of Morocco, with which France protested she had no wish to interfere. It was impossible for France or anyone to quarrel with him on that score without taking up the position that Morocco was lawful prey for any Power

which had the pluck to seize it and the strength to keep it. In these circumstances there was no alternative but to accept a diplomatic rebuff. At the time of the German Emperor's call at Tangier King Edward was on a visit to the Earl and Countess of Derby at Knowsley Hall; Queen Alexandra and the Princesses were cruising in the Mediterranean on the *Victoria and Albert*, which was to call at Marseilles and await the coming of the King. The King went overland, and a meeting with President Loubet was hastily arranged—again, the public were informed, as a matter of courtesy between Sovereign and President, but really that they might have an opportunity of conferring together on the new and startling development of the Moroccan question, now suddenly become a European question of the first magnitude. On the 6th of April the King's train was met at Pierrefitte, about fifteen miles from Paris, by President Loubet, who travelled with His Majesty to the capital and saw him off to Marseilles. What passed was not divulged. The situation between France and Morocco was that the Sultan had refused to accept a scheme of reforms France had pressed upon him. To force the issue might well have meant war with Germany. From Marseilles the King and Queen went to Algiers, where they were entertained by the French Governor-General, whom they honoured with the Royal Victorian Order. Matters drifted on, great uneasiness prevailing in France, which, however, prudently withheld her hand in Morocco, and the general situation in Europe was overclouded. M. Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, resigned and withdrew his resignation. There had been difficulties in the Cabinet



KNOWSLEY HALL.

about the policy to be pursued in Morocco. Meanwhile the German Emperor was in Italy, and King Edward making the acquaintance of Arab notabilities in Algiers. The political purpose of the

German Emperor was to ascertain how he stood with Italy. Meanwhile his ambassador in Paris was having conversations with M. Delcassé. Early in June the young King of Spain was

in Paris, on a visit of courtesy probably not unconnected with Morocco; and while he was driving with President Loubet, an anarchist bomb was thrown under their carriage, fortunately without evil results. On the 6th of June M. Delcassé resigned again and finally. There was a crisis in the Cabinet; there was a rupture between France and Germany, and between France and Morocco. The Sultan had on the 28th of May definitely rejected the French demand for reforms, in terms which were in entire harmony with German policy—that the Moroccan question was one for all the Powers having interests in Morocco, not for one alone



THE ROYAL FAMILY LEAVING THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT AT MARSEILLES.

to decide for itself or on behalf of them all; and the Sultan had delivered on the 3rd of June an invitation to all the Legations for an international Conference with Moorish delegates. Obviously Germany was acting and speaking through Mulai Abdul Aziz. Thereupon there were long negotiations as to the scope and details of such a Conference—negotiations in which Germany was represented as trying to force France away from England, and as having for the real object of her policy the break up of the Anglo-French *entente*. The negotiations were concluded in September, to the immense relief of Europe. The Conference sat at Algeiras, and in April, 1906, produced a General Act, of which more anon. Throughout these negotiations England had given France her diplomatic support. But notwithstanding statements made in France to the contrary, there is no evidence that we offered France armed assistance. There was no reason why we should. The Moroccan mess was hers, not ours. No act of aggression had been committed upon her. The diplomatic action of Germany was unamiable and disobliging but regular, and to the principles Germany raised with regard to Morocco we could take no objection. Indeed, they were the very principles which we ourselves had applied in the Far East and Germany had violated by the seizure of Shantung. Did Germany hope to grab a portion of Morocco? If she did, that aim was frustrated. In the Conference at Algeiras she found herself outwitted and outvoted. She had counted on Italy, but Italy sided with France and England. Russia was against her. The United States would not help her. She appears to have entered into the Conference in the

exalted mood of a dictator; but she left it in no triumphant spirit, though she had prevented the French acquisition of Morocco by a policy of "pacific penetration" under the cover of the Anglo-French Agreement. But into these matters, and into the still more terrible confusion into which Morocco fell after the Powers in concert had prescribed how she should reform herself, this is not the place to enter. With the subsidence of the Moroccan question Anglo-German



Photo: Elliott & Fry.

SIR FRANK LASCELLES.

relations seemed to improve in tone. But the Press polemic was ceaseless—as ceaseless as the fall of the thousands of hammers in the shipbuilding yards of both nations. In August, 1906, whilst on his way to Marienbad for the purpose of taking the waters, King Edward was joined by Sir Frank Lascelles, our Ambassador in Berlin. He then proceeded to Cronberg and there called upon the German Emperor, who met him at the station. The next day His Majesty continued his journey. There were no speeches. If politics were discussed at all nothing was allowed to be known as to the exact tenour of the discussions, and a general

disposition to regard the meeting as purely one of personal courtesy prevailed. There was a lull in Anglo-German suspicions and recriminations, and sensible people in both countries took advantage of it to foster good feeling. A new Government was in power in England, which was known to be anxious to come to an understanding with Germany for the cessation of the competition in naval armaments. But this opens out a new aspect of our theme—one that must be reserved for the record of events in England during the latter years of the reign. Not until February, 1909, did King Edward, who was accompanied by Queen Alexandra, visit the German Emperor in his capital. They were received by the Berliners with all due friendliness. The Emperor made a speech of unexceptionable cordiality at a State banquet, and King Edward replied in appropriate language. "With

regard to the aim and desired result of my visit," he said, "your Majesty has given eloquent expression to my own feelings, and I can therefore only repeat that our coming purposes not only to recall before the world the close ties of relationship between our two Houses, but also aims at the strengthening of the friendly relations between our two countries, and thus at the preservation of the general peace, towards which all my endeavours are directed."

But the moral and political effect of the visit was lessened by the fact that His Majesty, after a call on the Emperor Francis Joseph at Vienna in May, went on to Italy as the guest of the King. The visit to Berlin did not relieve the susceptible German mind of irritation because it had been so long delayed, and because the real effect of British Foreign policy was to be seen in the isolation of Germany.



KING EDWARD'S WRITING-ROOM ON THE ROYAL YACHT.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KING AND IRELAND.

The Cause of Irish Misunderstandings—Remedies Discussed—The King's Influence—The Landowners' Convention of 1902—The Revival of the Crimes Act—Lord Dudley as Viceroy—His Opinions on the Situation—Lord Dunraven's Land Conference—What the Report Recommended—The Land Purchase Act of 1903—Some of its Provisions—State Visit to Ireland—The King and Queen in Dublin—A Hearty Irish Welcome—The King's Sympathetic Speeches—A Round of Visits—The Levée—At Maynooth College—A Day in Belfast—In the Wilds of Connemara—Galway's Cheering Welcome—The International Exhibition at Cork—Opening by Edward VII.—What the Land Commission Accomplished—The Act of 1909—A New Era in Ireland.

THOUGH it cannot be suggested that King Edward VII. was a Home Ruler in the sense in which party politicians either favoured or denounced Home Rule, still less in the sense in which the Clan-na-Gael thought of that policy, there is not much doubt that long before he came to the Throne he had reached the conclusion that the root-cause of Irish agrarian crime and political disaffection lay in the excessive rents often demanded for land. He had known Ireland from his youth up; and to know it from any other point of view than that of an owner of Irish land, who shuts his eyes to all else but the state of his rent-roll, is to arrive at that conclusion in spite of oneself. Having regard to the circumstances of Irish history and economics, there was but one sure remedy for Irish disaffection and social disorder—a remedy applicable to the country independently of the question as to the legislative and administrative machinery with which Ireland might be equipped for the conduct of Irish affairs, and as to the conditions under which her place and activities within the Imperial system should be defined and regulated. That

remedy was the transference of the soil of Ireland to the people of Ireland by buying out the landlords. We have noted in a previous chapter the beginnings of this policy, which was forced on the English Parliament by the logic of inexorable facts, and the principle of which was conceded by the House of Lords because to reject it would have been to invite something very like civil war. It is one of the glories of King Edward's reign that the principle was taken up and made the basis of English policy in Ireland; and because it was thus taken up, if not at the personal initiative of the Sovereign then certainly with his cordial approval, the new reign brought peace to Ireland and opened up a new era of regeneration.

The Ireland of 1910 is a quite different Ireland from that of 1900; it is an Ireland incomparable with that of the 'eighties. A new nation is arising, a new social structure. The change which has set in is one of the most hopeful of contemporary facts. We cannot say that King Edward was its author. But the era of regeneration has begun because of legislation during his reign; and the credit of that legislation belongs no less to King Edward

than to his Ministers. Indeed, it is a tenable theory that the larger share of it belongs to him than to them, for who but King Edward could have set in motion the personal and social forces which led the landlord class in Ireland to stake their fortunes on a policy which, as a body, they had resolutely opposed? Who but King Edward could have induced those Parliamentarians who had profound faith in the efficacy of coercion in Ireland; an awesome respect for legal right in anything and everything touching the private ownership of land; an extreme timidity in approaching the economics of the Irish problem, to make so bold a departure as that of the Land Purchase Act of 1903? If the policy of that historic measure was not a policy on which King Edward had set his heart, would he simultaneously with its passage through Parliament in that year have paid his memorable visit with the Queen to Ireland? Would the Landowners' Convention of 1902 ever have met at Dublin, or, if it had met, would it have come to amicable conclusions had not its conveners—some of them old-standing personal friends of the King—known King Edward's mind? It is enough to suggest the answer that can reasonably be given to these questions. Not to put them and not to suggest the answers would be to dissociate King Edward from one of the great acts of policy and statesmanship which distinguish his reign. We have nowhere in these volumes presented him as a man head and shoulders above his contemporaries in intellectual stature, nor, in recording the years of his rule, is it our desire to create the impression that he directed his Ministers what to think and how to act in matters of either foreign

or domestic concern. He was but one mind among others, working with and through other minds. That he did work actively, not passively or merely by assent, in laying the foundations for the regenerated Ireland of the twentieth century, is a view of him which is warranted by his acts and his avowed sympathies. Certain is it that he was no mere figure-head, no crowned and annointed automaton, in this matter of social peace in Ireland—for centuries so difficult of attainment under the governance of his predecessors.

The readers of previous volumes will remember that the story of agrarian Ireland thus far in the life of Albert Edward is one of varying degrees of economic ruin for the people and for the small landowners, of cycles of crime, of alternate periods of social disorganisation, and of fierce political agitation in the four Provinces and in the British House of Commons. There was no marked alteration for the better when King Edward succeeded to the Throne. It is the same dreary, heart-breaking story of race and class hatred and warfare. So bad was the state of things in April, 1902, that the Crimes Act of 1887 was revived. Landlords and tenants were once more in a paroxysm of mutual rage. On both sides the combinations seemed to have set themselves to a fight to a finish. The League was powerful. The landlords had organised themselves to fight the Parliamentary leaders in the Courts. Suddenly a new spirit arose in the landlord camp. Far-seeing men, like Captain Shaw-Taylor, of County Galway, Mr. Talbot Crosbie, of Ardfert Abbey, and Mr. S. H. Butcher, apprehensive of ruin to all but the owners of great estates if the struggle

went on, suggested a conference between representative landlords and representative tenant-holders with the object of settling the conditions on which the tenants might acquire the land. The proposal which originated with Captain Shaw-Taylor met with scant favour at the outset ; but it was persisted in. Lord Dudley had become Viceroy—a position in which he was to work his way to conclusions about Ireland which put him out of sympathy with traditional Conservatism ; and Mr. George Wyndham had been made Chief Secretary. Mr. Wyndham caught at the idea of a Conference. “No Government,” he wrote, “could settle the Irish land question ; it must be ‘settled’ by all the parties interested. The extent of useful action on the part of any Government was limited to providing facilities so far as that might be possible for giving effect to any ‘settlement’ arrived at by those parties . . . Any Conference was a step in the right direction if it brought the prospect of a settlement between the parties nearer, and in so far as it enlarged the prospect of the probable scope of operations under such a settlement.” The great landlords weakened in their opposition, as did prominent Nationalists. At a meeting of the Landowners’ Convention in October a resolution was moved for a Conference. It was defeated by 77 votes to 14, the defeating amendment declaring that as certain resolutions had been passed embodying the landowners’ terms they could not see that any good would come by a Conference. The effect of these was that land-purchase ought to be carried through without expense and additional loss to the landowners ; and that, to make this possible on terms acceptable to the tenants, the purchase

instalments should be such as would secure the owners an annuity decreasing by fixed amounts at fixed periods. But a further resolution was passed inviting a statement of the views of tenants. The Convention did not therefore shut the door and the movement for a Conference went on, though the Executive of the Convention viewed it with disfavour. A Committee was formed by Lord Dunraven which circularised the large landowners—some 4,000 in number ; and of these



Photo: Dickinson.

LORD DUNRAVEN.

1,128 wished for a Conference. On this basis the Committee issued voting papers, and Lord Dunraven, Lord Mayo, Colonel Hutcheson Poe, and Colonel Nugent Everard were chosen to represent the landowners, while Mr. John Redmond, Mr. W. O'Brien, the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. T. C. Harrington), and Mr. T. W. Russell represented the tenants. Lord Dunraven was made chairman of the Conference, and Captain Shaw-Taylor its honorary secretary. It met in private. On the principle of land-purchase there was unanimity. On the conditions an agreed scheme was formulated. At the opening of Parliament in February, 1903,



THE RT. HON. GEORGE WYNDHAM

Photo: Weston, Folkestone.

the first paragraph in the Speech to the Commons declared that a Bill would be laid before the House for "the substitution of single ownership for the costly and unsatisfactory conditions still attaching to the tenure of agricultural land over a large portion of Ireland." The debate on the Address showed a remarkable con-

census of opinion in every quarter of the House in favour of the Conference scheme, the cost of which was estimated at a total loan expenditure of £100,000,000, raised from time to time as land purchase proceeded, and a free grant from the Exchequer capitalised at £22,000,000. The Government view was that the work of the Conference had been of inestimable value. Mr. Wyndham introduced his Land Purchase Bill before the Easter recess,

and it had an unusually smooth passage through Parliament. He had grappled with the problem with unexpected boldness. He declared that cash aid as well as a credit operation was contemplated by the Government. A grant they regarded as essential, but they attached more importance to the credit



scheme. It was to the interest of Great Britain that the main industry of Ireland should be prosperous and secure instead of precarious and decadent. Earlier Purchase Acts had been attended with uniform success. Of the advances made under these Acts the State had not lost one penny, one reason for this being that the purchasing tenants did their best for the land, and another being that public opinion encouraged the punctual repayment of the money owed to the Exchequer. Past experience showed that from the taxpayers' point of view land purchase was a safe credit operation. The landlords and tenants now desired that this system should apply universally. Estimating the size of the financial problem which had to be dealt with, he cited

figures as to holdings and rents which led him to the conclusion that provision would have to be made for second-term rents to the amount of £4,000,000 a year. On many estates there were paramount interests and first charges which it would be necessary to redeem. The Bill provided



A VISIT TO THE DUBLIN SLUMS: THE KING SEES HIS PORTRAIT ON THE WALL.

that in future in the vast majority of cases the operation of purchase should take the form of the purchase of estates. A distinction was drawn between estates presenting the problem of congestion in an acute form and ordinary estates. Landlords were to be allowed to make comprehensive arrangements with their tenantry, which would be submitted for approval. Estates Com-

be between 10 per cent. and 30 per cent., while for first-term rents they put the limit of the reduction between 20 per cent. and 40 per cent. The period of repayment was to be sixty-eight and a half years. Against subdivision and the mortgaging of holdings to money-lenders the Bill contained stringent provisions. As a safeguard one-eighth of the annuity



SACKVILLE STREET, DUBLIN.

missioners were to be appointed to supervise such transactions and to conclude them. The functions of these officials would not be judicial, but administrative, and their action would be open to criticism in Parliament. The purchase transactions were to be based on second-term rents. In the case of these rents the Land Conference report urged that the reduction in respect of the instalments paid to the State should be between 15 per cent. and 25 per cent. The view of the Government was that the limit of reduction should

payable by the tenant would be kept as a perpetual rent-charge. Seven-eighths of the payment by the purchaser would take the form of a terminable annuity at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., £2 15s. being for interest and 10s. for the sinking fund. The Commissioners were not to purchase an estate unless three-fourths of the tenants in number and value agreed to purchase. There were provisions dealing with untenanted land which might in certain circumstances be sold to evicted tenants. In the case of the formation of new hold-

ings in congested districts, the total sum advanced by the State was not to exceed £500. To the owner of an estate an advance might be made up to one-third of the value of the estate. The proposed Estates Commissioners would be Mr. F. S. Wrench, Land Commissioner and member of the Congested Districts Board; Mr. Michael Finucane, C.S.I., formerly Commissioner of Bengal and Director of Agriculture in India; and Mr. W. F. Bailey, legal Assistant Commissioner to the Land Commission. The advances for the purposes of the Act would be made in cash, not stock. A new capital stock would be created, called a Guaranteed Two-and-Three-Quarters per Cent. stock, which would not be redeemable for thirty years. It was morally certain that dividends of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. and a sinking fund of 10s. on seven-eighths of this stock would be always forthcoming from the instalments payable by the purchasers. It was also mathematically certain that the money would be forthcoming, if necessary, out of the funds payable by the British Exchequer for local purposes in Ireland. There was available for advances a sum of over £152,000,000, secured on Irish land and on the Exchequer contributions to Ireland. The freest estimate of the amount necessary to purchase all saleable land in Ireland did not exceed £100,000,000. The date of the commencement of the Act was the 1st of November, so that the loan could not be floated until the winter of that year. It would be neither prudent financially nor administratively possible to expand operations at a pace so fast as to make it necessary to go to the City for more than £5,000,000 in any one of the first three years after the passing of this Bill. Losses which

might be incident to the flotation of the loan in London would be provided for out of the £185,000 due to Ireland as an equivalent for the £1,400,000 voted last year for education in England. The amount of cash aid which the Government were prepared to give was £12,000,000. In view of the present financial situation of the country he held that this charge ought not to be put suddenly upon the Estimates. The maximum charge in one year on the Estimates was never to exceed £390,000. As a set-off the Irish Govern-



Photo: Elliott & Fry.

THE RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY.

ment would make reductions in their Estimates amounting in five years' time to £250,000 a year. The House had either to leave things as they were or settle the Irish land difficulty once and for all.

The Bill passed substantially in the form in which it was introduced, few, indeed, outside Ireland and the Houses of Parliament understanding its import, though Mr. John (now Lord) Morley did what he could to enlighten the country by describing it as effecting an enormous revolution. The abolition of landlordism was the policy of the measure, and that meant the reconstruction of Irish Society.

While the measure was still before the Commons—though its passage through both Houses was by then secure—the King and Queen paid a State visit to Ireland, arriving at Dublin on the 21st of July. On the previous evening the King had learned of the death of the Pope. Mr. George Wyndham, the Irish Secretary, was with him on the Royal yacht. "I am commanded by the King," Mr. Wyndham wrote forthwith to Cardinal Logue, "to express to you his deep regret at the news of the death of His Holiness the Pope, which reached His Majesty yesterday evening, and to beg that you will convey to the Sacred College His Majesty's sincere condolence." Nothing could have

been more opportune and tactful than for a Protestant Sovereign to write thus while on his way to visit his Irish subjects. Escorted by ships of war, the *Victoria and Albert* steamed into Kingstown Harbour in the early morning, and Their Majesties and their suites were brought ashore in a State barge towed by a man-of-war's steam pinnace. At the landing-stage they were received by the Lord-Lieutenant and a distinguished company, and amid the excited acclamation of the people they entered a pavilion where the Kingstown urban council presented an Address of welcome and loyalty.

"I thank you," replied the King, "for your loyal and dutiful Address and for the



DECK VIEW OF THE ROYAL YACHT: THE FLEET IN THE DISTANCE.

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.



THE VICEREGAL LODGE, PHOENIX PARK, DUBLIN.

Photo: Robinson, Dublin.

hearty Irish welcome which you give to the Queen and myself. We cherish delightful memories of our last visit to Ireland, and we are looking forward with the most pleasurable expectations to our present stay in the country.

"I am deeply touched by your references to my beloved Mother, and I assure you that the warm reception given to her by her Irish people was among the most grateful recollections of the closing years of her life.

"The death of His Holiness the Pope, though expected for some time, has, I know, brought sadness to the hearts of multitudes of my subjects—a sadness in which I share, remembering as I do the

kindness with which His Holiness received me so recently at Rome, and the interest he took in the welfare of my people.

"From every point of view my present visit falls at a time when bright hopes are entertained that a new era of prosperity and peace has opened before your country. It is my fervent prayer that these hopes may be fulfilled, and that a land blessed with so many natural advantages may, by the favour of Divine Providence, and through the united efforts of her children, continue to grow in contentment and peace."

The power of that reply as an earnest appeal to Irish hearts on the morrow of the death of the Spiritual Sovereign of the

Irish race will be apparent to all; the skill of the covert allusion to the Land Purchase legislation, as marking the beginning of a new era of prosperity and peace, needs no emphasis here. The tenour of the reply spread through the crowds along the route and the assembled multitude in Dublin City, and the King and Queen were given a reception fervent in its loyalty and good-will. There had been similar Royal processions through Dublin, but never one in which Sovereign or Prince had received so warm an ovation. One incident may be told in this brief



Photo : Lawrence, Dublin.
KINGSTOWN HARBOUR.

narrative. "As the Royal carriage turned into the line of the northern quays," wrote the special correspondent of *The Times*, "a woman broke through the cordon of the Royal Field Artillery and rushed to the side of the Queen. A policeman laid his hand on the woman's shoulder, but Her Majesty graciously restrained him and gave the intruder a hearty grasp. The enthusiastic onlookers saluted the graciousness on the one side and the successful audacity on the other with a ringing cheer." Amid a storm of acclamation the Royal procession went on its way to Phoenix Park, and thus to the Viceregal Lodge. The fleet in Kingstown Harbour was illuminated at night, and all Dublin

went out to see the sight. On the morrow there was a State procession from the Viceregal Lodge to Dublin Castle, and the street scenes of the day of welcome were renewed, even greater enthusiasm being displayed by the populace, which had been largely reinforced by people from all parts of the country, including the supposedly "disloyal" counties of the south and the west. Not a discordant note was heard; not a sullen face could be seen in the throngs. In the Castle various Addresses were presented. Replying to that of the Citizens' Reception Committee, the King observed that there was no part of his dominions in which he took more interest.

"The Queen and myself have long been in full sympathy with every movement which tends to advance the social and material well-being of the country. During our present visit we hope to make ourselves acquainted with the conditions under which my people here live and work, and to learn something of what is being done to brighten the lot of your labouring poor. You may rest assured that the prosperity of your country and of your metropolis, and the happiness of all classes of its citizens, will ever be to me an object of solicitude."

In the reply to another address there was this striking passage:—

"I rejoice to hear of a newly awakened spirit of hope and enterprise among my Irish people, which is full of promise for the future. It will be a source of profound happiness to me if my reign should be coincident with a new era of social peace and of industrial and commercial progress in every part of Ireland. I regret my inability to make an individual acknowledgment to each of the bodies that have



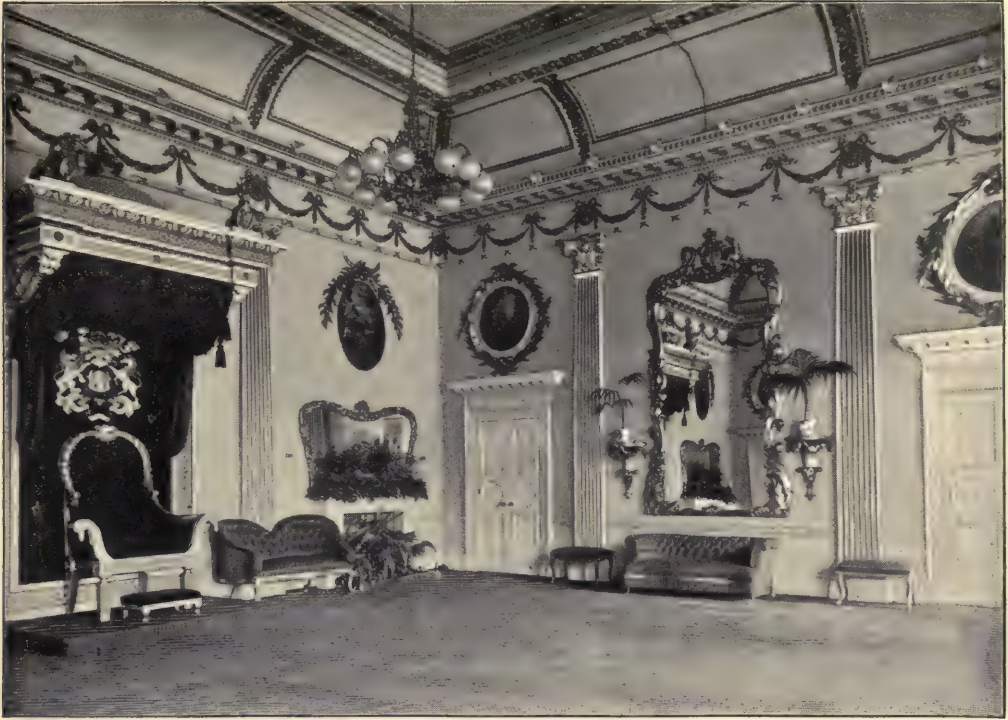
THE ROYAL GARDEN PARTY AT THE VICEREGAL LODGE.



Photo: Lafayette.

THE EARL OF DUDLEY AND HIS SON, VISCOUNT EDNAM.





THE THRONE ROOM, DUBLIN CASTLE.

taken part in this demonstration of goodwill to me and to my family, but I recognise that the manifold activities of Irish life are very fully represented here. I ask you to accept from the Queen and myself an assurance of deep sympathy with you and with your fellow-workers in the cause of religion and philanthropy, of art and science, of industry and commerce, as well as in the important work of local government. I pray that the Divine blessing may rest abundantly on your varied labours for the benefit of the community and for the elevation of the national life."

Among the visits was one to Trinity College. "I have pleasant recollections," observed the King to the University

authorities, "of my previous visit to your ancient University, which has so long been a famous seat of learning; and I am proud to have my name inscribed upon the rolls of a College which has had among its students Swift, Berkeley, Goldsmith, Burke, and Grattan, with many more who have achieved greatness in every walk of life. If in the past this University has been a potent instrument for good in the intellectual life of the country, it is my confident anticipation that, adapted to modern needs, a career of yet wider usefulness will lie before it in the future.

In the evening there was a levée at the Viceregal Lodge—a very remarkable levée, for it was attended not only by the "upper ten," but by members of all





THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRO-CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

classes. The King had paid a noble tribute to a revered figure who had passed from the sovereignty of an age-long Church. That Church acknowledged the significance of the King's act. "While the Throne Room was still full," wrote the correspondent of *The Times*, "something

happened which made the older Irishmen amongst us exchange glances of pleasure and surprise. A small figure, wearing the purple robes of a prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, and followed by a chaplain in sober black, passed quickly through the throng, and was ushered with some-

thing more than ordinary impressiveness into the hall beyond. It was the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and this was the first time within the knowledge of those who saw him pass that Dr. Walsh had ever been seen at a Court function in Ireland. The Archbishop looked straight before him, recognising nobody, and his usually impassive face bore, it seemed to me, some traces of emotion. I know

Ireland well enough to appreciate the significance of the Archbishop's action, and to realise what a tribute it was to the gracious and healing influence of the Sovereign whom he was there to honour."

A thing finely seen, finely recorded! It can well be understood with what graciousness His Majesty received the Archbishop—the head of that army of devoted Irish priests without whose restraining moral



MAYNOOTH COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

Photo: White, Clonskea.

influence the government of Ireland, time and again throughout the nineteenth century, to the very eve of the King's visit, would have been distinctly more difficult. The King and Queen visited the Royal Hibernian Military School. The King made a delightful little speech, expressing his pleasure at seeing "such a fine lot of boys," reminding them that their colours—which he had presented to them nearly fifty years before "when quite a boy" himself—were the emblems of discipline, obedience, and good conduct, and urging them when they left the school to go into the Army to remember "that high feeling of all that is right which has been inculcated into you here." There was a great review in Phoenix Park, the troops being under the command of the Duke of Connaught, and the King and Queen attended the Phoenix Park race meeting. The King was a true Irishman in his love of a horse. On another day he visited with the Queen the fine model dwellings put up by the Guinness Trust in Dublin. An afternoon was spent at Maynooth College where, by special instructions from Rome, the dignitaries of the Church wore their most gorgeous robes in his honour. Cardinal Logue had gone to Rome for the election of a successor to Leo XIII. His Majesty was received by the Archbishop of Dublin and an Address was presented. "We rejoice," it said, "at the opportunity which this visit affords us of expressing to Your Majesties in person our grateful sense of your kindly sympathy with your Irish subjects, a sympathy which has already awakened a warm response in the hearts of the people. Your Majesty's Catholic subjects have been especially gratified at the visit lately paid by Your Majesty to the

Illustrious Pontiff Leo XIII. and they are now deeply touched by the words of condolence you have spoken, and the kind consideration you have shown for the grief in the day that they mourn his death." The King's reply contained the following passage :

"Your College has long been famous as a centre of ecclesiastical life in Ireland, and for the training of devoted men to the sacred office of the Ministry throughout my dominions and in every English speaking country in the world. I value highly your true appreciation of my feelings towards my Irish people, who have contributed so much to the strength and honour of my Empire, and who bring such admirable gifts of mind and heart to the enrichment of our national life. It was with saddened feelings that I listened to your reference to the venerable Pontiff who has passed away, leaving a memory which will long be cherished beyond the bounds of the Church of which he was the exalted head. I shall ever retain a pathetic recollection of the interview with him and of the friendly interest he showed in the welfare of my people and my Empire. Again let me thank you for your warm reception and your kindly feelings towards the Queen and myself."

The King gave a dinner party at night and among his guests was the Archbishop of Dublin. The final gathering was one of 12,000 children in Phoenix Park—the poorest of the poor; a pathetic and shameful sight, for shameful it surely was that there should be such poverty in Ireland, that 12,000 ragged little children could be marshalled to see their King and Queen! Besides this 12,000 there were some 6,000 "children of a better class." These juvenile subjects of the Crown were

enthusiastic beyond measure, and we may be sure that it was with saddened and sympathetic hearts Their Majesties passed through their ranks. Four days had been spent in Dublin.

On the 25th the King and Queen left. Their parting gift was a cheque for the poor, and a message to the people through Mr. Wyndham, who had had a novel experience for an Irish Secretary, that of being acclaimed by the Irish people, who acknowledged with grateful enthusiasm the fine intellectual courage and good feeling which he had brought to the task of framing the Land Purchase Bill and piloting it through the House of Commons. "The King before leaving," Mr. Wyndham wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant, "commands me to beg that you will convey to all his people in Dublin His Majesty's deep

appreciation of the loyalty and affection with which he and the Queen have been surrounded throughout their stay in the capital of Ireland. Their Majesties will for ever cherish each memory of days during which every incident has but confirmed their belief that the inhabitants of

this illustrious city may, under God's providence, confidently look forward to blessings commensurate with the keenness of their intelligence and the warmth of



THE CHILDREN'S GARDEN PARTY.

their hearts." The cheque to the poor was for £1,000. From Dublin the King and Queen journeyed to Mount Stewart, where they were the guests of Lord and Lady Londonderry—the Lord Londonderry whose handsome head has so frequently been shaken in public in solemn warning

against the tendencies of modern Irish and every other sort of legislation, and whose sterling qualities and goodness of heart have made him not the least attractive figure in the politics of the passing genera-

in the hope that my peoples, cherishing their own national characteristics and ideas, may each engage in the friendly rivalry in the paths of peace, which is the true source of national prosperity and



ROYAL AVENUE, BELFAST.

Photo: Hogg, Belfast.

tion. From Lord Londonderry's Irish seat the King and Queen passed to Belfast, which gave them a welcome equal to that of Dublin. "I am glad," said the King in answer to an Address, "that our visit takes place at a time which, in your opinion, is full of promise for the future prosperity of Ireland; and I join with you

imperial greatness." A flourish worthy of Mr. Wyndham, himself no mean master of the flowing period. "Your reference to my beloved mother," observed the King, replying to a batch of other Addresses, "and to her gracious influences in public life, awaken sad but stimulating memories. My highest ambition was to follow in her

footsteps and, like her, to make the good of my people, the prosperity of the realm and the maintenance of peace amongst all nations my constant aim. I am pleased to hear of the steady progress in the

for the future that your chief hope for the maintenance and extension of your trade and commerce should be based on the provision of improved educational facilities which will give a better and more practical



THE LAUNCH OF A LINER, BELFAST.

Photo: Hogg, Belfast

manufacturing and commercial enterprises of this great centre of industry, and of the increased prosperity of the important district of which it is the capital . . . Your industries have enhanced the fame alike of your far-seeing captains of industry and of your intelligent artisans. It is of good omen

training to the minds and hands of your people. I am well assured also that the independent spirit of self-help which has distinguished your past will not be wanting in the future. I share in your legitimate pride in the position which Belfast has won among the cities of my Empire, and pray that by Divine blessing upon your

varied labours the future of this great city and the important towns in its neighbourhood, and of the wide district of the county which is represented here to-day, may be one of increased progress and prosperity." Wherever their Majesties went in the north there were more Addresses and more Replies, all in the same strain, and everywhere the illustrious visitors met with the utmost cordiality. From Belfast the King and Queen and the Princess Victoria journeyed in the Royal yacht to Killary and they spent some time in the majestic wilds of Connemara, observing the social conditions which the Congested Districts Board and the Agricultural Department were seeking to remedy. Lord and Lady Dudley and Mr. (now Sir) Horace Plunkett were with them; and it may not be amiss to suggest that what the King saw in Connemara of the life of the people on bog and mountain side led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Congestion, of which Lord Dudley was Chairman and on whose Report further constructive legislation was founded. After Connemara, Galway! One thinks of the choice which Cromwell's soldiery gave to the Irish who fell into their hands—"Hell or Connaught!"—the gallows or expulsion to the dreary wilds beyond the Shannon. One knows what manner of men these men of Connaught are—how intensely national is their spirit, how tenacious their memory of historic wrongs; and yet with what charming friendliness they will welcome the alien Englishman, be he Sovereign or beggar or mere wandering scribbler, who comes not in pride of race. No great cause had these people for loyalty to the Throne of England, from which for centuries past there emanated, to their way

of thinking, the authority and the physical force which enabled the alien possessors of the soil to take excessive toll of Irish life and labour; but to King Edward and his Queen they showed a fervent loyalty and simple kindness. Their hearts had been won. "Our journey through Connaught," said the King in reply to Addresses from the 'City of the Tribes,' "has given us much enjoyment. My people here have everywhere received us with cordial friendliness, and we have made acquaintance with scenes of picturesque beauty which are not surpassed in any part of the Kingdom. I know the share which men bred and educated in this Province have taken in the service of the Empire. The ancient war-cry of my Connaught soldiers has been heard on many a hard fought field, and the peaceful labours of Connaught men in other departments of State service have also won them victories. There is no doubt that parts of this Province are less prosperous than I could wish; but even here I see signs of awakening, and of hopeful energy. I am glad that administrative effort has been directed successfully to fostering that spirit of self-reliance which must be the prelude of material progress among my people. My fervent hope is that, with better facilities for practical education, more varied employment, and the further development of your natural resources a better future is in store for your City and the entire province." The Royal yacht had gone round the coast to Castletown, Berehaven, and from Galway city the visitors went to Derreen, the Kenmare seat of Lord and Lady Lansdowne. They concluded their Irish tour in Cork—"rebel Cork," now outvying Belfast itself in acclaiming the

Sovereign who had made a new conquest of Ireland. Among other things which the King did there was to open an International Exhibition. "Through an atmosphere," said the Address presented by the Lord Mayor, "long charged with ancient memories of sorrow, there has blown the breath of a new spirit with healing in its wings. We look around and

In the course of his reply the King said : "I join with you in the hope that the equitable settlement of a long standing controversy may open new and fruitful fields of industry and endeavour to the energies of my Irish people. The future of Ireland must mainly depend upon the development of the spirit of industrial activity which it is your aim to foster.



DEVILSMOTHER MOUNTAIN, CONNEMARA. *Photo: Hogg, Belfast.*

see old conflicts abating, old animosities appeased, old bitterness dying away. Your Majesty is above all politics. We are, however, free to acknowledge dutifully Your Majesty's gracious disposition towards this country and to express our conviction that if, after so many years, the measures which Your Majesty's Ministers advise at length bring peace, prosperity and sunshine to Ireland they will have accomplished an object which Your Majesty has very deeply at heart."

I rejoice to learn that beyond any mere ephemeral success you look for the reward of your self-denying labours to the fruition of the new industrial ideas you have helped to disseminate, and the Queen joins with me in the fervent hope that the future of your fair city may be distinguished by an ever-increasing measure of industrial and commercial prosperity. . . . In attributing to me a deep interest in Ireland and in the well-being of my Irish people, you did no more than



Photo: Hogg, Belfast.

THE "CLADDAGH," GALWAY.

justice. That interest which I have always felt has been deepened by the varied experiences of my present visit. I have gained a clearer insight into some conditions of Irish life than I possessed before, and I shall rejoice if my visit should be, as you anticipate, productive in any way of benefit to the country. I share your hopes that legislation in which Parliament is engaged may powerfully contribute to the contentment and prosperity of my Irish people. But good laws alone will not secure this end. There is also need of a better industrial training for the young, a spirit of co-operation among all classes, and the creation of new and varied sources of employment for the people."

On leaving Ireland King Edward wrote the following impressive letter :

"TO MY IRISH PEOPLE

"I desire on leaving Ireland to express to my Irish people how deeply I have been touched by the kindness and good-will which they have shown to the Queen and myself. Our experience on previous visits had indeed prepared us for the traditional welcome of a warm-hearted race. But our expectations have been exceeded. Wherever we have gone, in town or country, tokens of loyalty and affection, proffered by every section of the community, have made an enduring impression on our hearts.

"For a country so attractive, and a people so gifted, we cherish the warmest regard, and it is, therefore, with supreme satisfaction that I have during our stay so often heard the hope expressed that a brighter day is dawning upon Ireland.

"I shall eagerly await the fulfilment of this hope. Its realisation will, under Divine Providence, depend largely upon the steady development of self-reliance and co-operation, upon better and more practical education, upon the growth of industrial and commercial enterprise, and upon that increase of mutual toleration and respect which the responsibility my Irish people now enjoy in the public administration of their local affairs is well-fitted to teach. It is my earnest prayer that these and other means of national well-being may multiply from year to year in Ireland, and

that the blessing of peace, contentment and prosperity may be abundantly vouchsafed to her.

"EDWARD R. and I."

We have described the King's tour as a New Conquest of Ireland. If the reader can invent a phrase fuller of meaning, none can challenge its use. What has happened since? Much has transpired which, if this were a political history, it would be necessary for us to relate. But our concern is with social fundamentals, not with party politics. The Land Purchase Act was a conspicuous success. Indeed, it was so much of a success that the transference of the land could not be conducted with sufficient rapidity. Land Purchase schemes accumulated. The money with which to finance them could not, having regard to the state of the Market, be provided fast enough. The organisation for applying the Act was overstrained. It was an admirable organisation, finely officered by men of high ability and splendid zeal, who spent their energies with whole-hearted devotion for the regeneration of Ireland, the reconstruction of her economic machinery in the rural areas. Not until the history of this re-creative period in the life of Ireland comes to be written in detail by someone with the necessary knowledge and political insight will England and Ireland know the magnitude of the debt they owe to men like Mr. F. S. Wrench, Mr. Michael Finucane, and Mr. W. F. Bailey. And the organisation was finely manned. Many a mile has this writer driven and tramped over Irish bog and mountain side with

surveyors and district inspectors of the Irish Land Commission; and with ever-increasing admiration of their zeal and assiduity, their grasp of the social purpose and effect of their work, their sympathetic knowledge of the good and evil sides of Irish peasant nature, their patience in unravelling disputes, their adroitness in adjusting them, and in smoothing away the multitudinous difficulties which arose in carrying the Law into effect. It was unavoidable, perhaps, that in working out so huge and complex a problem as the abolition of dual ownership in Ireland errors and miscalculations should have been made, and that all the expectations of good should not yet have been realised. There were unreasonable tenants and groups of tenants; and there were obstructive landowners who blocked the Act in their localities by refusing to sell. There were troubles



Photo : Hogg, Belfast.

GALWAY WOMEN-FOLK.

due to greed and passion on both sides. The Land War still went on, though under new forms, mainly because it was

everything at once. Notwithstanding these difficulties, there arose in Ireland, here and there, as land was bought up

and parcelled out, a new rural community not subsisting in misery on "uneconomic" holdings—i.e. on holdings which could not yield both rent and a living for the family which cultivated them—but on "economic" holdings, with land large enough and good enough to yield, with industry and skill, a hard but sufficient living for a family and a balance yearly to pay off the purchase instalments; holdings, too, not carrying



THE KING AND QUEEN AT CORK.

financially and otherwise impossible for landlords, tenants, Land Commission, Congested Districts Board—and the British Chancellor of the Exchequer—to do

hovels unfit to house the beasts of the field, but furnished with substantial brick-built two-storied dwellings, with outbuildings for the cattle.

Wherever the authorities under the Act could get to work and buy and parcel out, and sell again and advance money for building and fencing and draining and the like, there arose a patch of the Ireland of the future. There, at least, was an economic and social transformation, an uplifting of the little community from the miseries of life below the poverty line to a level at

ment ; further legislation was seen to be necessary if the accumulation of estates scheduled for transference to the tenantry was to be lessened. And further legislation was also seen to be essential to meet the special difficulties of the poor lands west of the Shannon. Meanwhile also, the tenantry were clamouring for the division of the pasturage lands, which



VIEW ON THE SHANNON.

which its members could subsist and labour with confidence that in the next generation the soil would be their own. There were, and are, many elements in the problem of reconstruction which are of the utmost difficulty ; and they hampered, and at times imperilled the work. Into these this is not the place to enter. The passing of the land went on year by year ; the desire that more should pass outgrew the financial and administrative capacity of the Land Commission and the Govern-

owners preferred not to sell but to let out to graziers in large lots. There was no compulsory power under the Wyndham Act ; and evidence accumulated that some such power was necessary. In all these circumstances the King appointed a Royal Commission, of which Lord Dudley, the Lord-Lieutenant of 1903, was chairman. It produced a most valuable report and arrived at bold though not unanimous conclusions, some members objecting that it was impolitic to break up the grazing

lands. On this Report Mr. Birrell, who became Chief Secretary for Ireland in Mr. Asquith's Government, based his further Land Purchase Act, amending and supplementing the Wyndham Act. After the usual storm of misrepresentation and contention in Parliament and the country, it became law in 1909. There were then land purchase schemes on the books, but not yet in hand, involving an expenditure of more than fifty millions. How far Mr. Birrell's Act has facilitated the overtaking of those arrears, and what effect it will have in quickening the abolition of the old order of landlordism it is too early yet to say. Its opponents claimed that it would stop land purchase, and was meant to stop it ; but it is the ineradicable habit of politicians not in office to attribute iniquity and chicanery to politicians in

office. The work went on and is going on. It is slow work. Ireland is not to be re-created in a day, or even in a generation. But the re-creation has been begun and has made noticeable progress. The new era dawned in Ireland when Edward VII. came to the Throne and exercised his personal influence upon the solution of her economic and social problems. Unhappily he did not live to see more than the first hour of the dawn. The noontide of prosperity will be for his descendants and ours. When the obscure and wrangling politicians of the moment are forgotten his name will be gratefully remembered as that of the Sovereign who brought peace to Ireland and such prosperity as the soil and climate of the country can yield to strenuous labour intelligently applied.



THE KING AND QUEEN WITH ESCORT OF GUARDS.



From the Painting by W. H. Margetson.

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA

CHAPTER VII

A RE-UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

Lord Milner's Retirement—Lord Selborne Takes up the Reins—The New Act in Operation—The Liberal Government Begins Work—A Constitutional Change Foreshadowed by the King—It Becomes Effective—Formation of the South African Council and Legislative Assembly—King Edward's Message—Settling the Chinese Question—The War Contribution Cancelled—The South African Elections of 1907—General Botha as Premier—The Imperial Conference in London—The Zulu Rising of 1906—Working for Union—Lord Selborne's Masterly Plea for Unification—The Inter-State Conference of 1908—The Resultant Bill Before the British Parliament—Some Features of the Bill—The Act of Union is Passed.

KING EDWARD had the felicity of seeing the shattered fortunes of South Africa repaired during his reign, and the four Colonies in that region of the Empire united under one Ministry and one Parliament. He found war; he left peace. At the time of his accession it seemed that a generation must pass ere the Dutch population of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies would become reconciled to their defeat. That reconciliation was brought about within a decade. A miracle had been wrought by sagacious and adventurous statesmanship, based upon confidence and good feeling and a generous interpretation of the terms and spirit of the Treaty of Vereeniging. During 1905 Lord Milner retired from South Africa and was succeeded by Lord Selborne, a young Unionist Peer who had served at the Colonial Office but kept himself free from the entanglements of South African policy. He could bring to bear upon the work of Governor of the Transvaal and High Commissioner a mind untrammelled by formative participation in the events which caused the war. His immediate mission was to put into operation an Act which the Unionist Government had

passed, giving a cautious measure of representative government to the former Republics, which, since the withdrawal of military rule, had been administered under a modification of the Crown Colony system. The Government fell. The electorate put Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in power with an immense majority. The ensuing Speech from the Throne cancelled the Constitution previously devised by the Unionists and promised full Responsible Government. This was fulfilled by Letters Patent setting up a Legislature of two Chambers—a Council and a Legislative Assembly—the first of fifteen nominated members and the second of sixty-nine members elected by single-member constituencies, in which every white male British subject of legal age and a six months' residential qualification had a vote. There was to be a dissolution every five years or earlier. Every member had to take the oath of allegiance to the Sovereign, as in the Imperial Parliament. All debates were to be conducted and laws printed in the English and Dutch languages. Members were to be paid salaries not exceeding £300 a year. There were to be six Ministers and departments. The Judiciary was irremovable save by

address to the Crown. There is no need to go into further particulars. By a stroke of the pen the two Colonies were equipped with a Ministerial and Parliamentary system, and thus made responsible for the future conduct of their own affairs. It was a tremendous experiment which seemed highly hazardous at the



Photo: Elliott & Fry.

LORD SELBORNE.

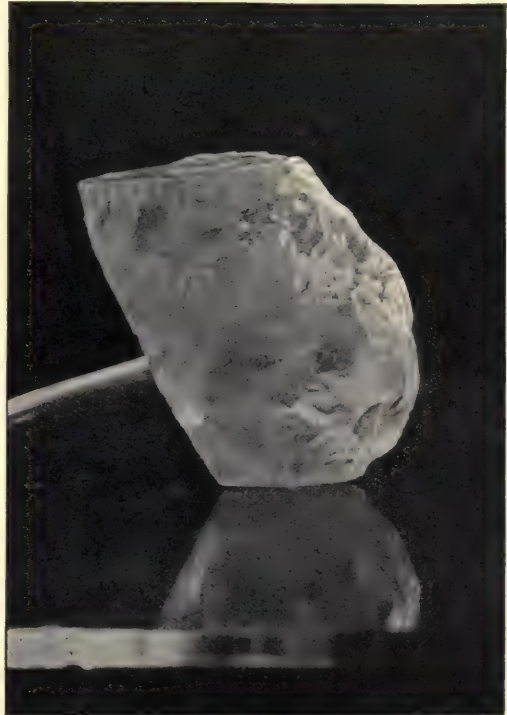
time and was regarded with serious misgiving by the Opposition, on whose behalf Mr. Balfour divested the Party of any responsibility; but it had an immediate good effect upon South Africa. The Boers found themselves trusted instead of mistrusted. They stepped at once into the full privileges of British citizenship. King Edward sent, through Lord Elgin, the then Colonial Secretary, a message conveying "his earnest wishes for peace

and prosperity under the new Constitution," and Lord Elgin wrote that the Government had advised the King to grant immediate Responsible Government in full confidence that prosperity and contentment would be permanently secured, and with the hope that the grant would in due time lead to the union of interests in South Africa. Thus early did the King and his Ministers define the objective of their policy. Meanwhile, opinion in South Africa, outside the combination of mining magnates, had become increasingly adverse to Chinese labour, which had not brought prosperity to the country, but was attended by special evils of its own. There were then some 52,000 Chinese in the compounds. The Imperial Government had decided that licences already issued for the importation of Chinese could not be cancelled, but that no fresh licences should be granted until the Transvaal, through its elected Assembly, pronounced for or against Chinese labour. This question, therefore, was an issue of the elections under the new Constitution and Boer opinion solidified against the Chinese, among whom there was much crime. In one year 30 Chinese had been convicted for murder and 1,114 imprisoned for various lesser offences, and troops had not infrequently to be employed in "rounding up" the raiding bands of Chinese in the country round Johannesburg. White opinion outside the mining offices was also hostile to the Chinese; and no wonder, for South African cities were so full of unemployed white men that special inquiries were made by the Transvaal Government into the question of indigence. The railways were earning but little; trade was stagnant everywhere; the economic con-

ditions were worse after the introduction of the Chinese coolies than before. So bad was the position that the Imperial Government magnanimously forgave the Transvaal the entire war contribution of £35,000,000. The obligation would, in any case, have been repudiated by an elective Assembly not controlled by the financial houses of the Rand. Having regard to these and other circumstances, it was foreseen that the elections under the new Constitution would place a Boer Ministry in power at Pretoria. The fundamental issue was whether the mining magnates or the people should henceforth "run the country." The two most prominent figures in the electoral struggle were Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, one of the leaders of the Johannesburg "revolt" of December 1905, and General Botha. The latter sent a message to the English people in defence of the party he led. The question of Imperial supremacy, he held, had been settled for all time. Having got Responsible Government—which had been promised to them under the Treaty of Vereeniging—all the Boers desired was that the two races should draw together and work for the prosperity of the country. The Boers had no hostility to the mining industry, but to the political supremacy of the mining houses. They did not intend the wholesale repatriation of the Chinese, regardless of its effects upon the industry. That was nonsense; for how could confidence be restored in the country by crippling and hampering the mines?

The elections were held in February, 1907, and resulted in a majority for General

Botha's party. The Government Bench, said a local journal, will be a reproduction of the staff of the burgher army. General Botha was the Premier. At a banquet given in his honour the new Prime Minister declared that British interests would be quite safe in his



THE CULLINAN DIAMOND
(The Union's Gift to King Edward VII.).

Photo. supplied by Premier (Transvaal) Diamond Mine Co., Ltd.

hands. The world would see that the new Cabinet was zealous for the honour of the flag. They in the Transvaal were actuated by feelings of deep gratitude to the King and to the British Government for having, in a way for which history afforded no parallel, granted a free Constitution to South Africa. Never would the Boers forget that



THE DE BEERS DIAMOND MINES, KIMBERLEY.

generosity. A short session of the new Parliament was held, and General Botha came to London to attend the Imperial Conference of 1907. He had business also to do with the Imperial Government, for the Treasury was nearly empty and the new Constitution needed to be financed. He returned to the Transvaal with a loan of £5,000,000, which enabled him to start fair, without the embarrassing assistance of the Rand financiers. The repatriation of the Chinese was begun. By the end of 1907 the Government had sent away nearly 16,000; by a continuous stream, as the indentures expired, the Chinese passed from the compounds to Durban, and were there shipped for home. The last shipload left in 1909. That was the first and most important act of the new Ministry. Space forbids that we should follow its fortunes further, still less that we should enter upon other South African

affairs, though a passing reference must be made to the very serious rising of Zulus in Northern Natal in 1906. "It was," said a Commission, on which there was a special representative of the Imperial Government—Colonel Rawson—"primarily a revolt against restrictive conditions, assisted by a national desire—common enough, as history shows, among native peoples—to return to their own mode of tribal and family life." That revolt seemed, at the time, to raise anew the perilous question of the relation of the white and black races throughout South Africa, and there were apprehensions of a general rising. Happily the danger passed, but not without significant indications that the white population intended to deal with the native problem in its own way, and was resentful of suggestions from the Imperial Government.

It will have been seen from Lord Elgin's

dispatch, which we have already summarised, that the King regarded Responsible Government to the two new Colonies as a step preliminary to the unification of all the South African States. General Botha had pledged himself to work for such a union. So had almost every other prominent man in South Africa. Lord Selborne, since his arrival in South Africa, had, at the instance of the Cape Ministry, been thinking out the problem. In a document of remarkable power, which carried him to the front rank of living English statesmen, he reviewed, in 1907, "The Present Mutual Relations of the British South African Colonies," and established an urgent and unanswerable case for unification. Lord Selborne attributed the fissiparous tendencies in South Africa of the past to the desire of the immigrants for political separation from the coast colonies, which in practice were ruled from London. Had the Imperial

Government, he pointed out, felt able to impose upon South Africa the responsibilities and privileges of self-government before the inland migration set in, the people of South Africa would have been held together by the necessities of their common defence. At that period the idea of the Imperial Government was not how they could best make a nation of South Africa, but how they could restrict their liabilities. They left the pioneers to go their own way, set limits to their own responsibilities, and encouraged the formation of States beyond their own borders. Thus the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal came into being, Natal, however, remaining dependent upon British Sovereignty. Foreseeing the evils of separation, Sir George Grey took advantage of the wishes expressed by the Orange River Volksraad in 1858 for union or alliance with Cape Colony, either on a plan of Federation or otherwise,



SEARCHING TABLES AT THE DE BEERS DIAMOND MINES, KIMBERLEY.

and urged this policy on the Imperial Government. His efforts were repulsed by Sir E. B. Lytton, then Colonial Secretary, who informed him that "Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to depart from the settled policy of their predecessor by advising the resumption of British Sovereignty in any shape over the Orange Free State." The golden opportunity was lost.

Lord Selborne argued that two alternatives confronted the Colonies. They could aspire to a continued independent existence for each Colony, and take the chance of having to settle international disputes by the arbitrament of the sword. If they recoiled from that they must be content that their disputes be settled by the High Commissioner, subject to the

control of His Majesty's Government in London, and that meant conflict of opinion between South Africa and the Imperial authorities.

In exhaustive and closely-reasoned passages, written with no slight literary skill and enforced by apposite historical analogies, Lord Selborne dealt with the actual and potential causes of quarrel between the States in such a way as to convince a reader that, short of early unification, the prospect was one of internecine conflict and perennial difficulty with the Imperial Power. The Memorandum had a swiftly ripening effect upon South African opinion, and a Federal movement was set on foot which culminated in 1908 in the calling of an Inter-State Conference for the purpose of formulating a scheme. The



PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN.



PARLIAMENT HOUSE AND TABLE MOUNTAIN, CAPE TOWN.

Conference met under the Presidency of Sir Matthew Nathan, one of the ablest governors Natal ever had. It sat in private, but the opening was public. Sir Matthew, in his inaugural address, invited the delegates to contrive a scheme which would unite South Africa into a great nation of white people, maintaining their virility, increasing their numbers, ruling over a contented native population. Their task was that of welding the States into a nation, so governed that the vast resources of South Africa could be developed, peace and good order maintained within and security provided against attack from without—a nation that would be a new Commonwealth, adding to, not drawing on, the strength of the Empire, one in which the arts and sciences would advance so that in culture as in strength South Africa would be among the foremost nations of the world.

The fruit of that Conference, at which the brains and loyalty and patriotism of

British and Dutch South Africa were represented, was a Bill which was agreed upon by the States and accepted by the Imperial Government, not as an ideal Bill, but as the best Bill then attainable. The measure was brought to London in July, 1909, by a delegation which comprised Sir Henry de Villiers, the distinguished Chief Justice of Cape Colony, who, on the consummation of the Union in May, 1910, was created a Baron of the United Kingdom by King George V.; Mr. Jan Hofmeyer, the former leader of the Bond, whose death occurred in the capital in the autumn; Mr. F. R. Moor, the Prime Minister of Natal; General Botha, the Prime Minister of the Transvaal; Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, and Sir George Farrar. By this time Lord Crewe had succeeded Lord Elgin as Colonial Secretary; but there was little that he could do to improve the measure, because to alter the Bill substantially would have been to wreck unification. It came before

the British Parliament very much as it had left a final and revising Convention in South Africa. It united the four Colonies into one Government in a legislative Union under the Crown, with power to include Rhodesia and other parts of British South Africa eventually. The Executive Government is vested in the King, and "shall be exercised by His Majesty in person or by a Governor-



Photo: Elliott & Fry.

General appointed by him"—at a salary of £10,000 a year. (Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who was made a peer and took the title of Viscount Gladstone, was appointed to be the first Governor-General.) The Governor-General is to act by the advice of an Executive Council, from which he can appoint ten members to be the King's Ministers of State for the Union, subject to their membership of either House of Parliament. The Governor-General is to have the appointment of all public officers and the command in chief of the naval and military forces of the Union. Pretoria

is to be the seat of Government, Cape Town the meeting place of Parliament. The legislative power is vested in the King, a Senate, and a House of Assembly. From the Senate the native was shut out, as he also was from the House of Assembly. One of the qualifications for a seat in either House was that a man must be "a British subject of European descent." The Assembly was to be made up of 51 directly elected members from Cape Colony, 17 Natal, 36 Transvaal, 17 Orange Free State. There were to be single-member constituencies; the polls were to be all on one day; the duration of a Parliament was limited to five years; there was to be manhood suffrage and payment of members of both Houses—the pay £400 a year.

Of an importance almost as great as the body of the Act were the Schedules, setting forth the conditions under which the Imperial Government will in due time transfer to the South Africa Union its direct administrative authority over the native territories. Any such transferred territory is to pass under the legislative authority of the Governor-General in Council, who is to make laws by Proclamation, subject to repeal by Resolutions of both Houses; but the administration is to be by the Prime Minister and a Commission of three, who are to be salaried and irremovable and not members of Parliament. The Commissioners are to have access to all documents, and, in the event of difference between them and the Prime Minister, the Governor-General is to decide and give reasons for his decision, which are to be published, unless such publication be gravely detrimental to the public interest. Each territory is to have a Resident Commissioner. All revenues

from a territory are to be expended on the territory. The King may disallow within a year any Proclamation incorporating a territory. On each territory an Annual Report is to be made to Parliament.

The above summary must serve as an outline of the Act of Union. To use a homely phrase of Lord Selborne's, South African bread was henceforth to be of South African baking; and power was taken under the Act that the baking operation should in due course be extended over all native territories outside the limit of the four Colonies, subject to the proviso that it shall not be lawful to alienate any land in Basutoland or in any native reserves in Bechuanaland or Swaziland. It was, as we have said, an agreed Bill between the four Colonies; the Imperial Government had to take it or leave it. That was the real position, and the South African delegates took no pains to conceal it. Acceptance of it meant that the Imperial Government had to consent to the setting up for all time—or at least until all South African opinion should alter—of a colour-bar shutting out from the electorate and from the Houses of Parliament any person not of European descent. It meant also the prospective relinquishment by the Imperial Government of its protective and regulative responsibilities over many millions of indigenous people who had come voluntarily under the protection of the Crown in order to preserve themselves from dispossession and exploitation by either or both of the two white races. It meant the abandonment of those responsibilities and their transfer to a political unity now formed by those races. It meant, in brief, the transfer of native interests to the white minority in South Africa, and

the exclusion of Imperial control; for, despite the restrictive qualifications of the Schedules, none believed that, once a native territory was incorporated, the Imperial Government would enter into conflict with the Union about its management, short of the inconceivable calamity of the re-introduction of slavery into South Africa, or would use force in any dispute save to preserve the white minority



LADY GLADSTONE.

Photo: Thomson.

against an avalanche of black rebellion. The position would have caused less uneasiness in England had the black population, or such members of it as had attained a certain degree of civilisation, been admitted to the electoral roll and given a chance to get a seat in the Union Parliament. But from these they were expressly debarred, save for a limited native franchise in Cape Colony; and even this the Union took power to abolish by a two-thirds majority in both Houses. None but persons of European descent could vote and legislate. What is "a

person of European descent"? Is it a person born of a European father and a negress? or a quadroon or an octoroon? Whatever the appellative division of the King in Council may determine to be the meaning of those words in particular cases, the political fact is that the words were meant to exclude persons of colour, whether of mixed race or pure, and that the Act laid down a principle inherently unsound for an Empire in which capacity for citizenship, regardless of race or colour, is supposed to be the sole test for the exercise of the right to a voice in law-making and in administration. That supposition was expressly denied and repudiated by the Act. Intelligent native opinion within the four Colonies and in the native territories protested alike against the colour-bar and against the contemplated abandonment of direct Imperial rule in the native reserves; and they found champions both in South Africa and in England. In South Africa and in London, whither he came for this purpose, Mr. Schreiner, the former Cape Prime Minister, championed their case with argument and eloquence, and in the House of Commons Sir Charles Dilke fought against the principle of the colour-bar and divided the House upon it. The case was not argued out by Parliament because there were no arguments with which to destroy it; and neither Colonel Seeley, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the Commons, nor Lord Crewe in the Lords could invent any other reply to it than that this was what the four Colonies had agreed upon. There was nothing more to be said. The Act had to be taken or left. The Imperial Parliament in this matter had no formative influence from first to last. It registered

the Act—that was all. Except for a few courageous members, there was a tacit conspiracy to submerge all other issues in a shout of exultation that Union had been accomplished. Eloquent speeches were made by party leaders, to which a full House of Commons listened; and when they were over the House almost emptied. The Act was not debated. It was formally passed through the legislative machine, the millstones of which had been so adjusted by the party managers that it came out of the mechanism untouched. The British nation had no part in the creation of the Act. It did but look on and declare through the British Parliament that South African Union was a good thing.

That is how the colour-bar came to be set up in South Africa and arrangements made by which the Imperial Government could divest itself, or be divested at the will of the Union, of its political and moral responsibilities towards the native peoples of South Africa. What does the average Englishman know of the native question in South Africa or anywhere else? Outside the missionary and pro-native societies in London but little interest was taken in this aspect of the Union Act. The average voter, like the average member of Parliament, was content that the matter should be settled over his head by a round dozen of South African delegates and the King and his Ministers. It was so settled; and the really remarkable thing about this great Imperial transaction was that the Imperial Parliament had nothing to do with it beyond saying what Ministers desired it to say. If we seek for an explanation of this atrophy of the functions of the Imperial Parliament, it is probably to be

found in the brain-weariness of England over internal strife in South Africa, and in the immense power of the English Cabinet, which is uninfluenced and uncontrolled by Parliament, when the two Front Benches are in collusion to get

not concerned for the future of the negro or for the wrongs of the East Indian immigrants, who found the little finger of the new rulers of the Transvaal thicker than the loins of Mr. Kruger. Much had been made of their wrongs. In one sense the



THE RAADZAAL, PRETORIA.

Photo: Edwards, Littlehampton.

something done. The nation had made up its mind to trust the Afrikaner population wholly. It remained unmoved by the passionate appeals of the few who treated the grant of Responsible Government as a measure which would place the British loyalists in Africa under the heel of an Afrikaner majority. It wanted to be rid of the African problem. It was

war was fought to right those wrongs. They remained unredressed after the Peace. The nation looked on unmoved while the new Transvaal Government passed restrictive legislation and did all it could to harry East Indians out of the country. In vain did Lord Amphill try to arouse a sufficiently strong public opinion to secure for these British subjects—whose



GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA.

Photo: Thiele.

grievances were a potent element in the unrest in India—the equitable treatment which Mr. Chamberlain had demanded for them from Mr. Kruger, and for which British soldiers had laid down their lives. British Ministers made “friendly representations.” To Indian deputations which came here they used soft words, just as they had done to the delegations of African natives. The nation was content. Lord Ampthill was as one crying in the wilderness. The mind of England was shut against anything which did not dismiss South African problems. It was prepared to give a free hand to whichever party in South Africa came out on top from electoral contests, and could keep

there. General Botha had come out on top, and in him the nation had learned to have confidence. When the Act was passed, and everyone could foresee that the outcome would be an Afrikaner majority in the Union Parliament, with General Botha as Prime Minister, he appealed to England to forget South Africa for a while and let South Africans solve South African difficulties. The nation was anxious to forget. General Botha expressed his conviction that the trust reposed in him by the King and Government and people of Great Britain would bind more closely the bonds between South Africa and the Mother-country. The people of South Africa, he said,

should be trusted to do the right thing in native affairs. “I know that the British people are anxious that a strong and healthy nation should grow up in South Africa, and we in South Africa have firmly resolved, after the blood and tears of the past, to build up such a nation—a nation of which the Mother-country will be justly proud. Both the white races in South Africa require nothing to-day but a policy of mutual forbearance, of conciliation and co-operation.” Mr. Steyn also made a statement, breaking silence notably for the first time since he had assailed Lord Milner as a man who had misunderstood South Africa. With Federation, he pointed out, came a series of

new and difficult problems, the chief of which was the native question. The true interest of the natives lay in subordination to the South African Parliament. The native would not take orders from a quarter which he regarded as inferior, and so long as he felt he had the right to go over the head of the Parliament to the Imperial authority there would be friction, and possibly native wars, which would be avoided if the natives were subject to the Union. With unity among the whites the native question would solve itself. The great difficulty was that of the separation of the Dutch and English races.

These passages may be accepted as giving with fairness both the British and Dutch points of view on the status of the native in the Union. The future will show whether in this respect too high a price was not paid for the Union, and whether the Imperial Parliament acted wisely in subordinating itself to the demands of the four Colonies; but it is as certain as anything can be in politics that if that price had not been paid South Africa would still be under four rival Governments, with all the risks which Lord Selborne had so sharply defined in his famous Memorandum. Equally certain is it that the failure of the African native delegation was not attended, up to the moment of writing, by discontent among the race for whom the delegates pleaded.

Whatever perils may be ahead, the native problem is at present of no special urgency. The volcano is quiescent.

There is no public evidence during the swift ripening of events in South Africa, from the grant of Responsible Government of the territories won by the war to the passing of the Union Act, that King Edward took part in their fruition; but we may be sure that he watched developments with eager and hopeful interest, and it is an open secret that the consummation of the policy of reconciliation caused him intense personal gratification. While the delegates from the four Colonies were in England he entertained them to lunch in Buckingham



EX-PRESIDENT STEYN.
By permission of "South Africa."

Palace. Men who had borne arms for and against him now sat together as friends at his table. In the multiplicity of his engagements he found time to associate himself with their work for unity by a signal act of hospitality. We have dared to suggest—not from positive knowledge, but by virtue of an intuitive interpretation of known circumstances—that it was King Edward who sowed the seeds of an acceptable peace by relaxing the rigour of Ministerial policy when the Government of the Netherlands made over-

tures to Lord Lansdowne in 1902. Peace, reconciliation, organic unity of the South African States—these were the three stages of the policy of the Crown from King Edward's accession. The luncheon party marked the achievement of the third stage. The satisfaction with which the Sovereign put his signature to the Act of Union may be imagined. The

table, by the way, at which he then wrote was a gift to South Africa, and it now stands in the Union Parliament. That he recognised how great a thing had been accomplished was shown by

delegating the opening of the new Parliament to his son and successor. Death deprived him of the satisfaction of receiving from the Prince of Wales a message from Cape Town such as had been sent at the moment of the inauguration of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament. At the moment of writing it has been the



Photo: Lafayette, Dublin.

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.

duty of the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate the Union on behalf of his Sovereign and nephew, George V. But King Edward lived to see his own efforts crowned with success, his name linked in imperishable honour with the close of a tragic chapter of South African history, and the opening of a new era radiant with hope and full of promise.



CHAPTER VIII

OLD AGE PENSIONS

King Edward and Amelioration—Lord Rosebery on Old Age Pensions—Removing the Stigma of the Workhouse—The Age Limit—Mr. Chamberlain's Earlier Scheme—The Royal Commission of 1893—Lord Rothschild's Committee—The "Aged Deserving Poor" Inquiry—The Report and Recommendations—A Fatal Defect—Working at the Idea—An Estimate of the Cost—Pensions and the 1906 Election Campaign—A Retrospect—The Position in 1908—The Bill Becomes Law—Old Age Pensions in Operation—Poor Law Matters—The King's Commission in 1905—Three Years of Deliberation—A Massive and Momentous Report—The Minority Report and What it Suggested—Labour Exchanges Established—Further Steps in Social Reform.

KING EDWARD was the friend of the labouring man. He looked beyond the throng of the rich and highly born, who always encircle the person of a monarch, to the toiling masses of humble men. His vision was not distorted and dazzled by the glittering society of a court; it penetrated and surveyed the social structure from slum to palace. He passed through the bodyguard of rank to the people who stood outside the social circle of riches and ease and called to himself men from without who had faced the struggle for existence. If he knew the decorative and brilliant aspects of the social edifice, he knew also those that are drab and ugly. In scriptural phrase, he "regarded the poor." His heart was with them as Prince of Wales, and still more markedly as King. Throughout his reign his mind was occupied with great matters of high policy touching the external affairs of the Realm; but not to the exclusion of the internal condition of the State. He sought the amelioration of the lot of the people. His aim was ever that of the betterment of those whose capacity to better themselves is restricted, if not extinguished, by a social environment through which a man

of average moral strength and equipment of mental and physical vigour cannot break. His sympathies were with those who, from ill-health, poverty, old age, or other partially incapacitating causes, are unable to support themselves and their dependents in an endurable state of life. The more his mind and activities are studied—especially after the mystic change which came upon him at his accession, to the enrichment and vivifying of his character and the strengthening of his resolves—the more clearly does he stand revealed as a man of kingly compassion for the common people. We have failed in suggesting his personality amid the play of forces within and without the nation if the reader has not by this time a sure grip of the fact that the heart of King Edward beat in unison with the aspirations of the democracy for a lightening of the burdens of poverty. He hearkened to the cry of the poor. His aim was to mitigate the severities of their life. Does anyone believe that if he had not been a Sovereign of this type of mind and character the latter years of his reign would have seen that wonderful outburst of reforming energy which distinguished the House of Commons from 1906 to the



year of his death? It is true that the financial consequences, coupled with the increasing cost of provision for the maintenance of peace, brought about a Constitutional crisis of the first magnitude, the settlement of which was taken from him by death; but it is also true, with whatever accuracy it may be alleged that much of the energy was misdirected and wasted, that measures of incalculable social importance were passed which will make his reign memorable in the history of England. Not the least of these—perhaps the greatest—was the Old Age Pensions Act. Lord Rosebery has put it on record that he himself viewed its consequences as so great, so mystic, so incalculable—so largely affecting the whole scope and fabric of our Empire—that he ranked it as a measure far more vitally important than even the great Reform Bill. Those were his words. They are a gorgeous extravagance when it is remembered that no man or woman could get a pension until he or she had passed the allotted span of life, and that the pension itself is not sufficient to keep a foxhound, much less a human being who has to be clothed and housed as well as fed; but the Act was avowedly an experimental beginning in dealing with the miseries of old age in extreme poverty outside the workhouses—to the poor, dread corridors to the tomb. It was assumed, also, that few pensioners would be absolutely without means of their own from such labour as they could perform, or would be without relations whose natural duty it was to give them help in shelter or in food. What was more important than the substantial benefits conferred upon the aged and upon those whose duty it is to contribute to their sustenance, was that the principle was laid down

in our legislation that the citizen who is past work shall be relieved by a money grant from the State instead of having to choose between starvation and life in a workhouse. It is a principle of far-reaching importance. The present age limit of seventy and upwards—a limit which shuts out from the benefits of the Act whole classes of people engaged in industrial occupations which wear out the bodies and lives of men long before seventy is reached—is not the measure of the application of the principle. Obviously it cannot be, because that limit does not do justice between different classes of the community and between one man and another. The agricultural labourer or other countryman who starts life with a good constitution has a reasonable prospect of living beyond the age of seventy; while the man born and reared in an urban slum, who spends his days in occupations subject to special risks and to restrictive regulations under legislation administered by the Home Office has much less chance of reaching pensionable years. In Ireland the peasantry, figuratively speaking, never die. It is not uncommon in the centre and the west to find a “mere boy” of between fifty and sixty working on a potato patch with a father well-nigh eighty, and a centenarian grand father pottering about with odd jobs in the hovel or on the holding. An open-air life, leisurely work, simple food, and a buoyant temperament account for a longevity unattainable by people whose vital force is consumed by exacting labour in mill and factory—often in operations attended by special risks to health—and whose years are passed in the vitiated air in which they work and rest. Those varying conditions of existence in our complex

industrial society which throw one man on the scrap-heap in the prime of life and enable another to reach length of days are not met by the Act ; but the principle that they should be met is written in the Statute-book, and it is only a matter of time and the skilful utilisation of the

shall be given a State pension; if only because it is cheaper to the State thus to provide for the sustenance of its broken citizens than to house them in the so-called workhouses. The Reports of the Royal Commission appointed by King Edward have caused the entire Poor Law system



KING EDWARD'S VISIT TO THE MODEL DWELLINGS AT MILLBANK.

taxable wealth of the nation for that principle to be adapted to actual social needs. A beginning has already been made by a promise to reduce the pension age to sixty-five when such a reduction is financially practicable ; and he would indeed misread the signs of the times who thought that the movement would stop at that stage. It may, indeed, go so far that every person incapable of self-support, from whatever disabling cause,

to be cast into the melting-pot, and the drift of the scientific study of social ills leads to the conclusion that poverty must be attacked at its sources, and that where the causes are irremediable the impoverished should be adequately relieved. Lord Rosebery's pronouncement, therefore, that the consequences of the Act would be so great, so mystic, so incalculable as to affect the scope and fabric of Empire, may be proof of his keen insight. In

any case, none will question the statement that the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 was one of the great legislative achievements of the reign of Edward VII. And few will doubt that the sudden ripening of the question in the minds of politicians, who up to that time had used it for the



Photo: Haines

THE RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.

purposes of cajoling votes and for Party recrimination, was noted by him with strong favour, even if he did not himself stimulate Ministerial interest. We can imagine with what pleasure he must have heard Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman tell him, when they were discussing the subjects of the King's Speech and the general programme of Parliament for 1908, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer—then Mr. Asquith—could see his way to

provide the money for an initiatory and experimental scheme of old age pensions. It needs no violent effort of fancy to conceive King Edward saying, "Can't you make it seven-and-sixpence?" or "Can't you begin at sixty-five?" Sir Henry and the King were excellent friends, and in affairs political got along extremely well together. Each was a man of simple naturalness, of large and generous sympathies; and it was a matter of common knowledge while Sir Henry kept in harness that their minds worked in perfect unison. There was none of that constraint which Queen Victoria had felt in other days, when she spoke of Mr. Gladstone talking to her as though he were addressing a public meeting.

The Party history of the Old Age Pensions question need not here be described. It is enough to recall Mr. Chamberlain's advocacy of pensions for the aged long before the interest of the nation was focussed upon the subject. But Mr. Chamberlain had not contemplated a general scheme by which everyone who needed a pension would get one—say five shillings a week at the age of sixty, this being the amount and the sum of years suggested in the early stages of the agitation for pensions. The cost would be prohibitive, and the effects, he argued, would be mischievous. Thrift would be discouraged, and idleness and vice encouraged—a contention having a certain amount of truth, but in reality inapplicable, inasmuch as the average labourer of the city and the field, whose wage did not rise above subsistence level, could not make even partial provision for his old age unless he remained a bachelor and lived a life of saintly and superhuman restraint and parsimony. Mr. Chamberlain's

conclusion was that there must be some test by which the thrifty man could be rewarded and the unthrifty punished by being left in his misery ; and the test he suggested was that a man should throughout his working life have paid contributions into a Friendly society. The effect in practice of any such test would obviously be to give a pension to a man whose need for it was not urgent, because of the provision he had been able to make for himself, and withhold it from the man who had no Friendly society as a barrier between himself and destitution. It would have given pensions to the strong and fortunate whose wages and whose family circumstances had enabled them to save something, and would have shut out from this form of help the great mass of old age poverty in the country. The few round the edge of this slough of despond would have been helped up the bank to dry land ; the many would have been left, save for the ordinary Poor Law, to struggle until they sank. Mr. Chamberlain's anxiety to differentiate between the "thrifty" and the "thrifless"—between industry and all the virtues and idleness and vice—was shared by many distinguished politicians, some of them men of considerable private means, who were themselves pensioners of the State or became so ; but the real difficulty was the financial one, for a scheme of pensions to all at the age of sixty was estimated to cost some £34,000,000 a year. It was because of the cost of any such scheme that a Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, which sat in 1893-95, under the chairmanship of Lord Aberdare, was unable to recommend its adoption. At the age of sixty-five a pension of five shillings a week from State funds alone would cost £24,500,000.

As to the schemes of voluntary assisted insurance, the future pensioner paying a premium at a certain age and yearly deposits thereafter, with a supplementary State contribution, these did not commend



Photo: Knights-Whittome, Sutton.
KING EDWARD VII.

themselves to the Commissioners. The accumulation of Trust funds by the State would, they thought, present insuperable difficulties ; while the persons who would take advantage of the schemes would in the main be those who could make provision for themselves independently of the State. Nor did a Committee, which sat

from 1896 to 1898 under the presidency of Lord Rothschild, carry the matter further. Pension schemes of all sorts were submitted to them ; they dissected over a hundred, with the conclusion that none was satisfactory. Nor were they able of themselves to devise a scheme without grave inherent disadvantages. But they did record an objection to all schemes which would limit pensions to members of Friendly societies. Such schemes would give preferential treatment to members of such societies over those persons who invested their meagre savings otherwise, and would, moreover, entail a State guarantee of solvency. Their view was that State aid could not be justified unless it were limited to aiding the individual when circumstances beyond his control made it impossible for him to save from his own earnings an adequate provision for old age. In other words, that State aid for the mass of the industrial population in this form would not be justified. And this notwithstanding the appalling amount of evidence available on every side that the masses were economically powerless because of the low and stationary levels of wages in nearly all industries, and the high and increasing cost of living, to make such provision for themselves save by the universal adoption of celibacy. But the advocates of pensions were not to be deterred by these discouraging verdicts of Commissions and Committees. They refused to be frightened by the bogey of the "thrifless" man or woman who had managed to survive until the age of sixty-five or seventy and was then bankrupt in physical strength and wage-earning capacity, and they declined to think that the problem was beyond the powers of the human intellect and the resources of the

British Treasury. Adventurous politicians all over the country, on both sides of the dividing line between Parties, had got themselves returned to Parliament in 1895 by promises of old age pensions, and the constituencies required that these pledges should be redeemed. The Government resorted to another inquiry, and set up, in 1899, a Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Henry Chaplin, to consider and report upon the best means of improving the conditions of the "Aged Deserving Poor"—mark the word "Deserving"—"and of providing for those of them who are helpless and infirm." It was also to report on certain Old Age Pensions Bills then before Parliament at the instance of private members. Its recommendations were:—

"(1) That a Pension authority should be established in each Union in the country, to receive and to determine applications for pensions ; (2) That the authority for this purpose should be a Committee of not less than six or more than twelve members appointed by the Guardians from their own number in the first instance ; (3) That the Committee, when so appointed, should be independent of the Board of Guardians, and that other members should be added to it, subject to regulations to be made by the Local Government Board, and that it is desirable that other public bodies within the area should be represented on the Committee, and that a majority of the Committee shall be members of the Board of Guardians ; (4) That the cost of the pensions should be borne by the common fund of the Union, and that a contribution from Imperial sources should be made to that fund in aid of the general cost of

the Poor Law administration, such contribution to be allocated, not in proportion to the amount distributed in each Union in respect of pensions, but on the basis of population and not to exceed one-half of the estimated cost of the pensions; (5) That the amount of the pensions in each district should be fixed at not less than 5s. or more than 7s. a week, at the discretion of the Committee, according to the cost of living in the locality, and that it should be paid through the medium of the Post Office; (6) That the pension should be awarded for a period of not less than three years, to be renewed at the end of that period, but subject to withdrawal at any time by the Pension Authority, if in their opinion the circumstances should demand it. In order to facilitate the inquiries of the Pension Authority, and to prevent as far as possible attempts at fraudulent misrepresentation, we think that applications for a pension should be made on a prescribed form, and should be signed before a Justice of the Peace on oath, without fee. The machinery which we propose for the administration of a pension scheme in England and Wales may not, in some respects, be possible or equally suitable for Ireland and Scotland, and our recommendations are subject to such modifications as to machinery as may be necessary or desirable in the case of either of these countries."

Finally, the Committee considered the main objections which had been put forward against the above and similar pension proposals, and said: "We are very sensible of the grave importance of the inquiry which has been committed to our care, and of the difficulties of the problem which it has been our duty to examine. We have given to the subject, within the

time at our disposal, the best attention in our power, and we make our proposals with the deference which is due to the opinions of others on a difficult and highly complicated question. But we believe that if they are adopted they will add to the comfort, and improve the position, of the aged and deserving poor."

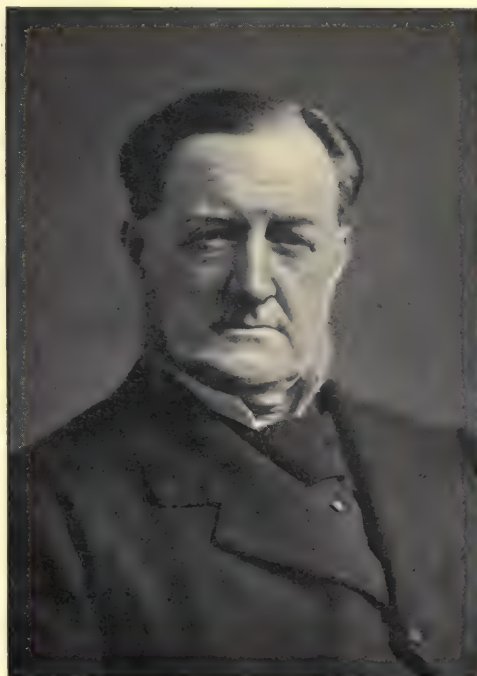


Photo: Elliott & Fry.

THE RT. HON. HENRY CHAPLIN, M.P.

The fatal defect of these recommendations was that the Committee associated pensions with the Poor Law system, for which the labouring classes above the horde of tramps and ex-criminals had an inexpressible hatred. It would have enabled a Poor Law Pensions Authority to make inquisitorial inquiries into the merits and demerits of applicants for pensions, to grant or withhold pensions at will, and,

if granted, terminate them at the end of three years, thus forcing the aged to end their lives in the Workhouses. Between such a system and the granting of a pension at a fixed age on the sole ground of age and need, quite independently of the question whether a man or woman had led a life of commendable virtue and average "thrift" on a subsistence wage, varied by recurrent spells of unemployment from childhood onwards, there was an immense chasm which seemed unbridgeable, and could, in fact, only be bridged by the financial ingenuity of the Treasury. It was clearly impossible for the Government then to give instructions for the devising of such a bridge, for they had to ask Parliament to provide a few millions to enable a British army to brush away twenty or thirty thousand peasants from the African veld by Christmas Day, 1899, and set up a new, and British, administration in Pretoria; before Christmas it had become painfully apparent that thrice ten millions would not suffice for the undertaking. Throughout 1900 and 1901 the bill went mounting up until the nation, recovering from its anger and astonishment at the cost of the war, surrendered itself to the inevitable and took a certain pride in its power to bear so huge and unexpected an expenditure with comparative ease. And when the war was over the advocates of State pensions were not slow to point the moral, that since we could afford to spend without distress to the taxpayer two hundred millions upon a war we could also afford to find a few millions to start an Old Age Pension scheme. But the Government then in power could take no action, especially as affairs in Europe and in the Far East indicated ever and anon that we might at

any moment become embroiled in war on a colossal scale with one or more of the great Powers. The Government, however, set a Departmental Committee to work to ascertain the cost of the scheme propounded by the Chaplin Committee. They submitted the following figures:

Estimated number of persons over			
65 in 1901	2,016,000		
Deduct			
Persons whose incomes			
exceed 10s. per week	741,000		
Paupers	515,000		
Aliens, Criminals and			
Lunatics	32,000		
Persons unable to com-			
ply with Thrift test	72,700		
			1,360,700
Estimated number of pensionable			
persons			655,300
Total Estimated Cost			
			£10,300,000.

Taking the pension age at 70, the cost under the Chaplin Committee proposals was estimated at about £6,000,000; at 75, £3,000,000; against which there would probably be a set-off of about half a million in the expense of out-door relief under the Poor Law.

That was the situation until the General Election of 1906, by which time public opinion had so far ripened that candidates who were not prepared to give a straight pledge for Old Age Pensions had slight chance indeed of reaching Westminster. Old Age Pension schemes had been in operation in Germany and in Denmark for some years without financial ruin, or prospect of it, to the community, and without causing any distressing demoralisation among the venerable beneficiaries in those countries. Other nations were following the German lead, and pension schemes had long been in operation in Australasia. What other



SIGNING THE OLD AGE PENSION PAPER.

countries and our own Colonies could do, wealthy England could do. So at least the nation thought, and showed what it thought by sending a great majority pledged to action. But leading statesmen on both sides were strangely coy and indulged in much "loquacious indecision," as the *Spectator* happily called it. The Liberal leaders, indeed, claimed that they were "entirely unpledged"; and at a great meeting held at the Albert Hall during the election campaign Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman left the subject alone. Mr. Asquith, during the first year of his Chancellorship of the Exchequer, candidly declared that he had no expectation of having funds adequate for the purpose of providing Old Age Pensions under any scheme; but the pressure from outside the House of Commons and from within the Party was too strong, and in 1908, without, it must be admitted, due counting of the cost, the Government took the plunge. On the death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, but he introduced the Budget which he had prepared. It contained provision for starting an Old Age Pension scheme for persons over seventy, and the proposals were embodied in an Act which was passed in that Session. Lord Wolverhampton, who will be more readily recognised as Sir Henry Fowler, wrote an exposition of the Act in one of the magazines—the *National Review*—which, for compactness and clearness, cannot be improved upon:—

"British subjects who had resided in the United Kingdom for the previous twenty years, would, on attaining the age of seventy, be entitled to a pension on a sliding scale. Where their private income was £21 or less, the pension would be the

maximum of 5s. a week. If the income amounted to £23 12s. 6d., the pension would be 4s.; if £26 5s., it would be 3s.; where the income was £28 17s. 6d., the pension would be 2s.; and if the former amounted to £31 10s., the latter would be only 1s. No pensions would be paid when the income was over that figure. There were certain disqualifications. No one would be entitled to a pension who had received Poor Law relief since the 1st of January, 1908, as otherwise many persons previously receiving outdoor, and possibly indoor, relief would at once transfer to the pension fund, upon which a very heavy charge would be thrown. Then, again, a man who had habitually failed to work according to his ability, opportunity, and need for the maintenance or benefit of himself and those legally dependent upon him would also be disqualified, as they wished to exclude wastrels, special provision, however, being made for those who, up to the age of sixty, had by payments to Friendly, Provident, or other societies or Trade Unions, made reasonable provision against old age, infirmity or want, or loss of employment, thus giving practical evidence of thrift. Pensions would be inalienable, and they would be forfeited by any attempt at alienation, nor could they be charged with debts. The machinery of the Bill was as follows: The Treasury would appoint Pension Officers for certain areas, who would retain effective control over expenditure, while the Act would be administered by local Pension Committees appointed by the popular local authorities, though they need not be Municipal or County Councillors, as it was desired to give absolutely free scope for the selection of the most competent persons. All claims for pensions and ques-

tions of disqualification and the other matters of administration defined by the regulations would be settled by the Pension Committees, subject to an appeal to the Local Government Board. Pensions would be paid weekly through the Post Office, and it was estimated that the number of pensioners would be somewhere between 500,000 and 550,000."

There is nothing new under the sun. The *Quarterly Review* bewailed the passing of the Act as "the first step towards national disaster." How many "first steps" towards the bottomless Pit has not the famous Review denounced? Those who thought that the idea of pensions was the invention of their own time were reminded that "in 1773 a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, the object of which was to provide annuities for the poor on the security of the rates. This Bill was drafted by Dr. Richard Price, a Nonconformist minister, and was supported by Edmund Burke. It was a voluntary scheme in respect of the workmen; the pensions were to be guaranteed and supplemented out of the poor-rates; but the measure was not carried. Fourteen years later another scheme was put forward, under which every male and female in the country between the ages of twenty and thirty was to be compelled to subscribe to a common pension fund—2d. per week to be the contribution of males, and 1½d. per week that of females. Between these ages subscription was to be compulsory, but persons between thirty and fifty could join the association voluntarily. The contributions were to provide sick benefits at 6s. per week, and meagre allowances of 1s. per week after the age of sixty-five, and 1s. 7½d. per week after seventy. Incapacitation at any time of

life would entitle to an allowance of 3s. 6d. per week. These were the minimum rates; but provision was made for increased subscriptions to secure larger benefits. This scheme, introduced by Lord Rolle, also came to nothing.

"Tom Paine, author of 'The Rights of Man,' had a plan for ameliorating the con-



ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES.

ditions of men by creating a national fund to pay to every person, on reaching the age of twenty-one, a sum equal to £15, to enable him or her to begin the world; and also £10 on reaching the age of sixty, and annually thereafter during life, 'to enable them to live in old age without wretchedness, and to go decently out of the world.' More practicable than any of these was a proposal put forward in 1806 by Dr. F. Colquhoun, on the system of a National

Friendly Society, with thirteen different classes of contributors from 1s. per week upwards, and seven different kinds of insurance or benefits."

The Act came into force on the 1st of January, 1909. Its effect on the finances of the nation will be considered when we come to describe the Budget of 1909-1910, whose rejection by the House of Lords led to the Constitutional crisis in the midst of which King Edward died. Its social effect was to deprive old age of its terrors, and to relieve many a poor household of a strain beyond the economic strength of its members. Who can tell in how many homes of the poor wage earner, wife and children went short of food and clothing in order to provide sustenance for the aged relative in the chimney corner? To households such as these the pension meant not only some measure of economic independence for the old man or woman in the home of married son or daughter, but also more food, clothing, and warmth for the rising generation. If the Act was an incalculable boon to the aged, it was none the less a blessing to the heroic folk among the urban and rural workers who, at whatever personal sacrifice, had kept an aged parent from the detested shelter of the Workhouse. The Act had not long been in operation before the croakers were discomfited. They had prophesied that on the morrow of the weekly drawing of the pensions the police courts would be full of drunken and disorderly septuagenarians. Nothing of the sort happened. There was no evidence of the demoralisation of the aged. There was much of the urgent need of the pension system and of the immense lightening of the burdens of life which the Act had brought about in the homes of the poor. Unquestionably, Mr. Asquith

had accomplished one of the most effective social reforms of modern times. He has other titles to fame, other claims to honourable mention in the crowded pages of English history; but it may be doubted whether any equals in force and merit the fact that he was the first statesman to give pensions to the aged.

The effect of the Act upon the problem of pauperism was to prepare men's minds for a reconsideration of the methods of relieving poverty. It was not King Edward's lot to live to see a reform of the Poor Law; but it is one of the distinctions of his reign that he set in motion an inquiry which has made such a reform inevitable. In 1905 the King appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the operation of the Poor Law and into the various means of relieving distress arising from want of employment, especially during periods of industrial depression. The Commission was instructed to report what changes in administration and what fresh legislation might be desirable. It conducted a searching and exhaustive inquiry extending over three years, and in 1909 produced a Majority and a Minority Report. Both Reports condemned the present system of relief. The Majority condemned the Boards of Guardians. Popular election had failed to produce the right type of Guardian. This they thought could be remedied by enlarging the unit of administration and making a new relief authority, to be known as the Public Assistance Authority, composed in part of members of the County or Borough Councils. They recommended that the Central Authority, the Local Government Board, should have larger powers of initiative and control. The mixed Workhouse was condemned as bad for the good and too good for the bad.

There should be classification of paupers in different kinds of institutions. The aged poor should have small homes ; the able-bodied, work in suitable institutions ; the vagrants and workless, compulsory detention, with punishment for the worst cases. Outdoor relief was condemned as a contributory cause of low wages ; but when given in suitable cases it ought to be adequate. Medical relief in voluntary and in public institutions needed to be reorganised and co-ordinated, as did the various charitable agencies. On the aspect of their inquiry relating to distress due to unemployment, the Majority Report concluded from the evidence that there was chronic under-employment, apart from the cycles of good and bad trade, due to the existence of a constant surplus of casual labourers. This mass of casuals—never regularly employed—intensified the evils of unemployment, and rendered nugatory all kinds of relief works. The Majority could not give any accurate measure of the extent or duration of unemployment ; but the number of able-bodied persons who applied for relief outside the Poor Law was greater than that of those who sought help from the Guardians. The Majority Report condemned municipal relief works. Most of the applicants were the chronically under-employed or unemployed. The remedies were insurance against unemployment, which might be effected through the Trade Unions, with State assistance ; the establishment of a National system of Labour Exchanges ; and the more thorough and scientific administration of relief by the Public Assistance Authority. So much

for the Majority Report, one of whose recommendations King Edward lived to see carried into effect—the passing of an Act setting up a national system of Labour Exchanges, under the control of the Board of Trade. The Minority Report, which was signed by the Rev. H. R. Wakefield, Mr. F. Chandler, Mr. G. Lansbury, and Mrs. Sydney Webb, was far more boldly social-



ONE OF THE EARLIEST PENSION RECIPIENTS
IN LONDON.

istic—to use that much-abused word in its literal, not in its party, sense. It agreed with the condemnatory portions of the Majority Report, but advocated far more drastic measures of reform. It proposed to deal with poverty by searching out the originating conditions and removing them, as well as by relieving the sufferers from those conditions. It proposed to exclude the able-bodied poor from the scope of the Public Assistance Authority, which authority, it thought, should



THE PRESIDENT'S ROOM AT THE OLD LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD.

consist of the existing Committees of the County and Borough Councils. The fundamental idea was that the poor are the product of their environment; that destitution is preventable, and curable, where not prevented, by administrative agencies scientifically applied to the conditions which engender pauperism. The relief of the able-bodied was treated as a matter to be dealt with by the Government—by legislation and the provision of work. Instead of condemning the principle of municipal and other relief works, under the Unemployed Workmen Act, they regarded such works as a step in the right direction. They advised the establishment of a Ministry of Labour, whose duty it would be to regularise the national labour supply as far as practicable, and think and plan and carry out schemes of affor-

estation, coast protection, land reclamation, and the like over a period of ten years. The Ministry was to have at least £4,000,000 a year to spend on such schemes. Thus under-employment and unemployment, the first chronic and the second coming in cycles, could be relieved. The idea was that the expenditure would, in the long run, be productive. Concurrently there should be legislation for the reduction of the hours of labour, thus absorbing into employment men partially or wholly unemployed; and for raising the age of child labour to fifteen. As for the "ultimate residuum" of the unemployed, they should have "full and honourable maintenance" while being trained for self-support. The incorrigibles should be committed to detention colonies.

Neither of these summaries can be

regarded as adequate. We have given sufficient to indicate the radical difference between the two Reports. The Majority Report would remodel and improve and brace up the existing Poor Law system; the Minority Report would scrap the system, and substitute for it a system of dealing with the poor in their own homes by preventive and curative methods, by the provision of work by the State, by concurrent legislation against over-work in private employment, by fitting the incompetent to support themselves, by detaining and punishing able-bodied persons who would not receive or use such training. It advised



Photo: Haines.
THE RT. HON. WINSTON
CHURCHILL, M.P.

an enormous extension of State action.

What Mr. Asquith had once finely called the unexplored territory of Social Reform had in these two Reports been explored with a thoroughness never before known. By the provision of Old Age Pensions he had entered upon the occupation of one corner of the territory, had cleared it, and had sown it. A further tract was cleared, as we have seen, in 1909, by the passing of the Labour Exchanges Act. Under this measure the country is mapped out into divisions and sub-districts. In each of the latter there is an office of the Board of Trade, where



Photo: Bolas.

NEW OFFICES OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD AT WHITEHALL.

a man or woman can register as being in need of employment. Each office is linked with every other. The function of each is to know where labour is wanted, and to put those who need work into communication with those who have work to give. The earliest offices were opened in London and other great cities in January, 1910. The system was in experimental operation in various parts of the country when King Edward's reign ended. If he did not live to see the fruition of the hopes with which he had called the Royal Commission on the Poor

Law into existence in 1905, he had the intense satisfaction of affixing his signature to two notable Acts of Parliament which beneficially affected the lives of the poor. His aim in internal affairs was the betterment of the lot of the people. In the last years of his life he had the satisfaction of knowing that some projected reforms were no longer being talked about, but were actually accomplished. If there were nothing else to make his reign notable the initiation of Old Age Pensions would of itself be sufficient to perpetuate his memory.



CASUALS WAITING OUTSIDE A LONDON WORKHOUSE.

CHAPTER IX.

KING EDWARD AND THE ARMY

The Maintenance of Peace—A Stronger Navy: a Reorganised Army—What Happened at the Hague—The Limitation of Armaments—Germany Makes a Stand—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Naval Policy—The Second Hague Conference—Great Britain's Proposal—Mr. Haldane at the War Office—A Scheme of Army Reform—Some of the Principal Points—The Evolution of the "Territorials"—Mr. Haldane's Fundamental Idea—Death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister—The Relation of the Army to the Navy—A Comparison with Lord Esher's Report—The Haldane Scheme for Training "Citizen Soldiers"—King Edward's Part in Forwarding the Proposals—The 1909 Conference on Imperial Defence—Hand in Hand with the Oversea Dominions—The Scheme in Operation.

THOUGH King Edward VII. applied his energies to the maintenance of peace, his reign is remarkable for a heavy increase in the cost of preparations for war. Independently of the personal wishes of the Sovereign and of statesmen and people, circumstances compelled the nation to add to the power of the Navy and to undertake a reorganisation of the Army and the auxiliary forces. German naval policy, and the shipbuilding programme under the law which has already been noted, had introduced a new factor into the calculations of the Admiralty; the war in South Africa had proved that our Army was unequal in organisation and efficiency to the work it had been called upon to do within the Empire. Army reform would have been imperative though the world had been in profound peace and the horizon clear. But the shipbuilding programme of the future and, in a lesser degree, the magnitude and scope of our plans of military reorganisation depended upon what other nations were doing. We have seen what happened at the first Peace Conference at the Hague. Germany blocked the path to any reduction

of armaments. The Powers went on as before, adding to their fleets and enlarging their armies—England as well as the rest. Retrenchment was one of the Liberal cries at the General Election of 1906. The theory was that by a pacific Foreign policy the swollen expenditure could be cut down. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had large humanitarian ideas. To him Europe was groaning—as, indeed, it was and is—under the burden of the cost of vast fleets and armies. Statesmen were at their wits' ends to find the money, as they were and still are; if England gave the lead, would not other nations follow? He determined to give that lead. He refrained from carrying forward the Navy programme which he had inherited from the preceding Administration; he left Mr. Haldane to take his own time in contriving a plan of Army Reform.

A second Hague Conference had been called by the Czar at the close of 1905 for the summer of 1907; and Sir Henry decided to ascertain whether it were possible to come to some understanding to arrest the growth of expenditure on preparations for war. Our plenipotentiaries at that Conference were Sir Edward

Fry, Sir Ernest Satow, Lord Reay, and Sir Henry Howard, with Lieut.-General Sir E. Elles, and Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Ottley as military and naval delegates respectively. Through them Sir Henry tried and failed. Almost all the nations of the world were represented. Again Germany would not consider the question of reduction of armaments. Sir Edward Fry was authorised to make a declaration in the following terms: "The Government of Great Britain will be prepared to communicate annually to Powers which would pursue the same course the programme for the construction of new ships of war and the expenditure which this programme would entail. This exchange of information would facilitate an interchange of views between the Governments on the subject of the reductions which it might be possible to obtain by mutual agreement. The British Government believes that in this way it might be possible to arrive at an understanding with regard to the expenditure which the States which should undertake to adopt this course would be justified in incorporating in their estimates." But the declaration was fruitless. Nothing was done by the Conference beyond passing a resolution, which confirmed the resolution of the previous Conference, as to the limitation of military charges and recommending the Governments, in view of the yearly increases in those charges, to "resume the serious study of this question." The vital matter of naval limitation was ignored. The seed sown by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman fell upon stony ground. It was inevitable that this should be so, the German attitude being what it was. Sir Henry thus found himself frustrated. He was forced against his will to reconsider

the situation. Mutual agreement with other Powers on the principle of the limitation of growth, much less on the principle of reduction, was clearly impossible. But meanwhile ground had been lost in ship construction. Instead of being able to lessen expenditure, the Government were compelled to increase it. In April, 1908, Sir Henry died, at the age of seventy-two. He had been Prime Minister a little over two years. Without impressing the country as a man of exceptional mental power, he had won its respect by the straightforwardness and sincerity of his character and the clearness of his opinions on matters of public policy. On his resignation, which he tendered when he felt that recovery from his illness was unlikely, he was succeeded as Prime Minister by Mr. Asquith.

From the time when Mr. Asquith had figured as Junior Counsel in the Parnell Commission, he had steadily extended the range of his influence in the House of Commons and in the country. In Lord Rosebery's Government he had held the office of Home Secretary and had shown himself to be a man of strong will, who did what he thought was just and right and said only that which he honestly thought without regard for popular favour or hostility. There was a riot of miners at Featherstone during his term of office, and troops had to be called out to restrain the mob from wrecking the building at the mouth of one of the pits. The soldiers were attacked and fired a volley. Two men were killed. Mr. Asquith had sanctioned the calling out of the military. An inquiry into the circumstances fully justified that sanction; but in extreme Labour circles Mr. Asquith incurred much obloquy.



KING EDWARD VII. IN HIS UNIFORM AS FIELD-MARSHAL.

From the Painting by R. Caton Woodville.

(By permission of Messrs. Henry Graves, Ltd., Pall Mall, S.W.)



LORD ESHER.

Photo: Dover St. Studios.

Here, however, was a Home Secretary who was determined to uphold lawful authority. In the ordinary administration of his office he did admirable work, while his speeches in the House and on the platform—logical, cold, painstakingly exact in fact and style—increased his reputation as a politician of balanced judgment. On the fall of the Rosebery Administration Mr. Asquith returned to the Bar, and was seen less often in the House.

The leadership of the Liberals fell to

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. During the war in South Africa Mr. Asquith carefully abstained from allowing himself to be identified with the pro-Boer section of the Liberals. After Sir Henry's speech condemning the war as one conducted by "methods of barbarism" there was something like a split in the Liberal Party, the Liberal Imperialists, as they came to be called, forming themselves into a League, Lord Rosebery being president, and Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Haldane the vice-presidents. But there was no personal rupture between Sir Henry and his lieutenants on the front Opposition bench. When the war was over the sections reunited on the policy of granting self-government to the conquered colonies.

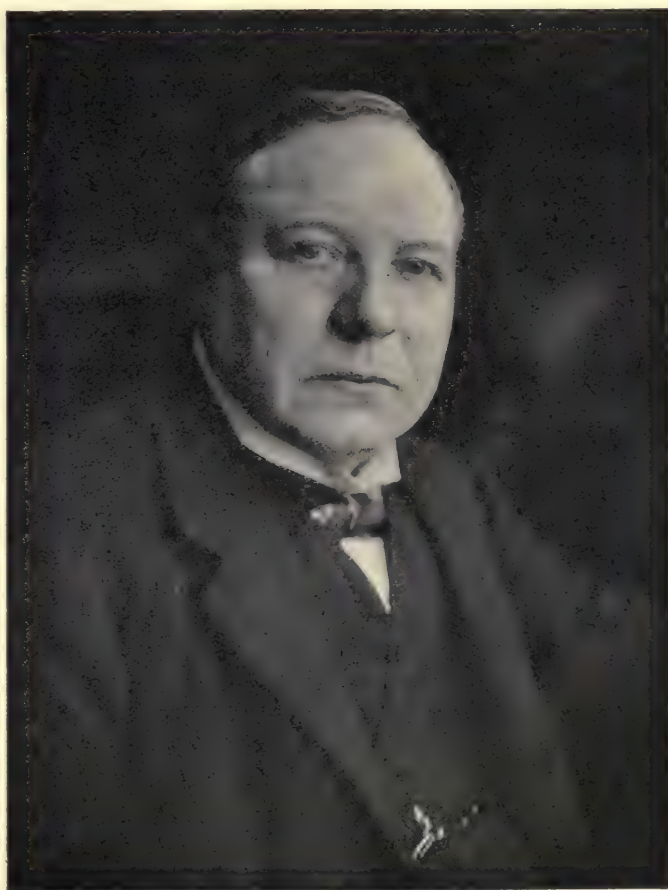
On the formation of the Liberal Ministry, Mr. Asquith was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. During the three preceding years he had become universally known in the country as one of the most persistent and damaging critics of the then inchoate policy of Tariff Reform. His platform work had a formative influence on public opinion, and contributed materially to the rejection of that policy at the polls. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he devised means for setting

up an Old Age Pension scheme, and his first act as Prime Minister was to carry that reform through. In foreign affairs he was an almost unknown quantity; nor had he then obtained that supreme command over the House of Commons which he has since gained.

This, then, was the man upon whom the work of equipping the nation for war devolved—or with whom rested the responsibility for its equipment by others—after the failure of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's proposals at the second Hague Conference. He had reconstituted the Ministry. Mr. Lloyd George became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. McKenna succeeded the late Lord Tweedmouth at the Admiralty; Lord Crewe was made Secretary of State for the Colonies and leader in the House of Lords; and Mr. R. B. Haldane remained for the War Office. In introducing the Army estimates of 1907, Mr. Haldane had expounded the scheme of Army reform at which he had been labouring in silence since the Government took office; not labouring alone, but in conjunction with the Committee of Imperial Defence, of which the Prime Minister is chairman, and with the aid of "the best brains in the Army." We shall

not describe that scheme in any detail, but, after narrating the leading facts of it, will endeavour to bring into relief the group of ideas which it expresses.

The Regular Army was reorganised so as to provide an expeditionary force of one cavalry division, six infantry divisions, seventy-two horse, field, and howitzer batteries, and six garrison batteries of heavy artillery, with Army Medical Service and Veterinary Corps complete. In all the force would consist of 165,000 officers and men, capable of rapid mobilisation



THE RIGHT HON. R. B. HALDANE, M.P.

Photo: Haines.

and equipped to keep the field for six months. Out of this expeditionary force what was called a striking force was to be formed for special service at short

military classes, was to be the first reserve force from which the expeditionary army would draw men to make good the inevitable wastage of war.



TYPES OF TERRITORIALS.

notice. Behind this expeditionary army, drawn from the regular peace establishment, there was to be what was called a Special Contingent of the Army Reserve, into which the militia was to be absorbed; and this contingent, made up of various

with, and conform to, the plan of the Army Council for the organisation of the Territorial Force within the county, and it was to ascertain the military forces and capabilities of the county and to render advice and assistance to the

So much for the professional army—the paid soldier. There was to be an expeditionary army and an army to replenish it. Together they constituted the first line of defence. Behind this there was to be a second line, known as the Territorial Army, and consisting of citizen soldiers. Into this body the Yeomanry and Volunteers were to be merged. It was provided under the Act which brought the scheme into operation that county associations, under the presidency of the Lord-Lieutenant of the County, should be formed, the membership to consist of officers of all branches of the Territorial Force, and members of county and borough councils. These associations were to act under schemes prepared by the War Office. Each county association had to make itself acquainted

Army Council. The associations have power to organise the units of the Territorial Force, their administration and maintenance, except when they are called out for training or actual military service or when embodied. It is their duty to recruit the Territorial Force; to provide and maintain rifle ranges, buildings, magazines, and sites of camps, and to facilitate the provision of manœuvring areas; to arrange with employers of labour as to holidays for training; to establish and assist cadet battalions and corps and also rifle clubs; to provide horses for the peace requirement of the forces, and accommodation for the safe custody of arms; to supply requirements on mobilisation; and in other ways to facilitate the administration of the Territorial Force.

The ultimate number of this force of citizen soldiery was 300,000 of all arms. In equipment of all and every kind it was to be identical with the Regular Army; the only differences between the Regular Army and the Territorial Army were that the latter did not enlist for foreign service, and would of necessity be inferior in professional training. The idea was that field training on mobilisation for home defence would in six months make good its deficiencies in this respect, and convert it into an effective fighting force.

An effort will now be made to clothe this outline of the creative scheme with Mr.

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Haldane's ideas. We shall then briefly refer to the controversies it excited, and record the action which Edward VII. took to secure the co-operation of the nation. Mr. Haldane's fundamental idea was that



A MILITARY LEVÉE.

since we live on an island it is to the Navy we must look for defence of our coasts. Our position is quite different from that of continental nations, which have only one war on a large scale to contemplate—a war across a land frontier. The Army we islanders needed was an army to fight abroad; necessarily a

professional army, very mobile, capable of rapid transport to any part of the Empire. For such oversea service a conscript army could not, he thought, be obtained. At any rate, he ruled conscription out.

The principle on which the Government acted was that of the Blue Water School—namely, that the Navy was capable of defending these islands from invasion. That was the principle of the Unionist Government. It was the principle of the Defence Committee, of the Navy, of the War Office, of the Army Council. He accepted the view of Mr. Balfour (May 11th, 1905) that, on the hypothesis of the worst possible moment of our military position, it would not be possible to attempt an invasion of England with fewer than 70,000 men of all arms; and no admiral would undertake the task of landing such an army. A force of five to ten thousand might conceivably get past the Navy and land, but that would be useless. The force would be thrown away. The mobility of the Navy was such that the invading party could not be reinforced or brought away. What general in Europe would throw away a body of troops merely to cause us annoyance? The bed-rock fact of organisation for defence was that the Navy safeguarded England from invasion. Hence coast defences had become obsolete, except at certain points where they were required for naval purposes. The principle of Blue Water defence was applicable also to our Colonial garrisons. The Navy did not want bases in the same way as before. Some were needed and would be well defended; but many were now superfluous, absorbing men and guns not really needed where they were. The notion of

a striking force for service abroad ought to be separated from the notion of home defence. With regard to the Army itself, its size depended on policy—and policy was made by the actions of the Foreign Secretary and the Colonial Secretary. The Army ought to be so organised as to be able to respond to policy. It ought to be capable of expansion and diminution, without loss of efficiency. The war in South Africa had shown “frightful waste and speculation.” Why did it take place? asked Mr. Haldane. “We know, thanks in a large measure to the Esher Committee and other investigating bodies, why that was. Unlike the other great nations, we had never established any thinking department for the British Army. If there had been such a thinking department it would have made out plans for the operations in South Africa, with the result that the distinguished generals who went there would have thought out every inch of their progress before they undertook it, instead of having to devise ways and means as they went along. Those who have read the report of the Esher Committee will know what I mean. Those who have read the account of the Japanese campaign will know the profound advantage of a thinking department embodied in the General Staff. The late Government, however, did a thing for which they deserve the thanks of this nation—they carried out the principles of the Esher Committee, and they have laid the foundation of a General Staff. We have got to work it out; and it will not be my fault if continuity is not observed in that policy, and if we do not give opportunities for dividing executive functions from administrative details. If, instead of the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa being responsible for the

stores and for every detail of administration which he could not look to himself, having regard to his field and other executive duties, he could have known that these administrative matters, so colossal and vast, were in competent hands subject to his control, we should

1906. Thus far we have brought into relief three leading ideas—dependence on the Navy for defence against invasion; an expeditionary army for service outside these islands; a “thinking department,” or a staff whose functions it would be to think out the conditions in which such



THE NEW WAR OFFICE, WHITEHALL, LONDON.

probably have had none of that waste and none of those scandals which have been so unfortunate in their result. If that division of labour had taken place you would have had your plans thought out, and the general would have known exactly what he had to do, instead of having to improvise his plans on arrival in South Africa.”

The quotation is from a speech in Parliament, introducing the estimates for

a force would operate. How was the expansion of the expeditionary force to be provided for? There were the reserves of our own people and the reserves of the Empire. The South African war had shown that the Empire was one, and could fight as one. In a supreme emergency we could depend on the whole strength of the Empire. How was the strength to be organised? To the Volunteer force in England the question must be



Photo: Dorrett & Martin.

THE PRINCE OF WALES (NOW KING GEORGE V.) AT A REVIEW.

put—What services can you render in time of war? The Volunteers had two functions to fulfil—to take the place of the Regular troops in the garrison fortresses, and to repel possible raids to the extent of about 10,000 men. Mr. Haldane thought such raids very unlikely. But there might be some power enterprising enough to lose 10,000 men in order to destroy the Elswick works or Woolwich Arsenal. Yet another function of the Volunteers was to be a sort of second reserve for the expansion of the Regular Army. The Volunteer force had therefore to be reorganised so that it could satisfy these three requirements. As a means of reorganising the Volunteers, the War Office had broken down for want of local knowledge; there must be some power of

organisation in the counties. Hence the formation of the County Associations. The Volunteers then (1907) had no supply organisation for war. "If they were at war the colonel, whose business it is to provide socks, clothes, ammunition, and everything else, would have to carry these things with him in his saddle bags." The reform must be thorough. No tinkering would be of any use. The different arms—infantry, cavalry, artillery—must be in their proper proportions. There must be a supply organisation. The divisional organisation of the Regular Army, the canons and standards of the Army, must be applied to the reformed Volunteer force. After the enlistment requirements of the Army and Navy were satisfied, there were upwards of a

million men in the country between nineteen and twenty-four years of age. The War Office wanted 300,000, organised as the Army was organised, equipped as the Army was equipped. The weapons were to be the same. The Volunteer artillery was to have no obsolete or second-rate guns. The idea was to get divisions of the second line as complete in every detail, both as to combatants and non-combatants, as the divisions of the first line, and to organise the second in such definite relation to the first that on mobilisation of the second its members could pass to the first. The enlistment would be for four years, with a minimum of eight days' training in camp yearly. If a war broke out, and all the Regular reserves had to be called out, the second

line—the Territorial soldiers, under the organisation of the county associations—would be mobilised for war training, say, for six months. That would make them efficient after their preliminary training before mobilisation, while following their civil pursuits. It was Mr. Haldane's belief that after training under mobilisation the men would say, in units, in brigades, even in divisions: "We wish to go abroad and take our part in the theatre of war, to fight in the interests of the nation, and for the defence of the Empire." There was no limit to the spirit of our people when the necessity was upon them. Thus the expeditionary force could be further replenished, while there would be a trained force for the home garrisons and for home defence.



Photo: Dorrett & Martin.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA AND THE PRINCESS OF WALES (NOW QUEEN MARY)
AT A REVIEW.

The undertaking would be to serve only in the United Kingdom ; but there would be the opportunity of serving abroad : "Compulsion," said Mr. Haldane, "is remote from our mind, and I trust it will always be so. Nor do we wish to encourage anything like excessive military spirit, and we feel this, that we can best prevent these contingencies by making use of the voluntary contribution by the nation of its manhood and its strength, on such a footing that if war break out their engagement will become a serious responsibility, thereby making them, on the one hand, a source of strength to the nation, and, on the other hand, making them disinclined lightly to take upon themselves the perils and horrors of war which would confront them. We think that this plan of embodying the second line for mobilisation for war training, and leaving them free to volunteer, is something which will give a sufficient sense of seriousness, and that there is not a man who joins but will feel disinclined to omit any effort in his power to prevent a state of things that might separate him from his wife and family and home and make him compelled to take upon himself the serious responsibilities of war. The engagement would therefore be to enlist for four years, with power to go out after three months' notice, and to be embodied in time of war for six months' training. That is the very essence of the proposals for increasing the efficiency of the second line, and that is the only way in which we can hope to give to it the real character which it ought to possess. In that way we hope to produce a real second line."

With the finance of the scheme of organisation we have here nothing to do. Our object has been merely to

sketch out the scheme itself and clothe it with Mr. Haldane's ideas—a task in which we have failed to do justice to that remarkable man, "the greatest Army Reformer," as Lord Esher has called him, "this country has ever had." So far as the reorganisation of the Regular Army was concerned, the scheme was sure of success. It was merely a question of pounds, shillings and pence for the nation to provide a sufficient number of professional soldiers for such work outside these islands as a professional army has to discharge, that is, presuming that our Foreign policy be conducted with due regard to our naval and military strength and our financial resources. The proper organisation of any requisite number of professional soldiers is a matter of brains, as is also the proper utilisation of their fighting capacity in the conditions in which they may be called upon to use it. These matters may therefore be put aside here. But as to whether the second line—the citizen army—differing only as a fighting force in the degree of training—could be brought into being, and be kept in being to the extent required, raised a different set of considerations. Could three hundred thousand men be obtained who would engage for four years? The conditions were much harder than those which the Volunteers had fulfilled. There was to be real work all round in future, not work for the few enthusiasts, officers and men, and recreation for the rest. There was to be no more playing at soldiering on a Saturday afternoon, with an Easter Monday in camp somewhere, and a sham review after sham field operations ; but systematic drills and at least eight days in the field. The patriotism and youth of the

nation were to be put to a real test. There was a liability to be mobilised for six months' training. There was a possibility of foreign service, not under official compulsion, it is true, but under moral compulsion of the strongest kind. There was an economic side to the problem also! Would not the devotion of so much time and energy to the service of the State lessen a man's chances of advancement in

which to obtain a sufficient army for the defence of the Empire or to ensure the safety of England in the event of a naval mishap while we were engaged in a land war abroad. Then again the projected county associations were wholly untried. Would the right men come forward? There was a disposition in some quarters for Lords-Lieutenant and county people to hang back. There was a period



THE "LONDON SCOTTISH" ON THE MARCH.

Photo: Keenes, Woking.

the private service in which he earned his bread? Would he not by absence in camp imperil the security of his employment? What would the employers say if they found their staffs depleted in the summer by the absence of their young men? These and the like considerations caused much searching of heart both among employers and employed; and they were unduly emphasised by that section of opinion in the country that thought conscription, or some form of compulsory service, the only way by

everywhere of doubt and uncertainty. It was resolved by the splendid patriotism of the young men of the country, and by the generous and public-spirited co-operation of the great employers of labour throughout the country. The boldness and simplicity of Mr. Haldane's conceptions of the Army, Regular and Non-regular, sank gradually into the public mind. Day by day, night by night, Mr. Haldane himself went about the country expounding his plans with a clearness of thought and language peculiarly his own.

But the Lords-Lieutenant, the majority of whom were not of the Liberal party, and many of whom were in favour of conscription, were often critical rather than helpful; and without cordial co-operation by them and others of influence in the counties the future of the new associations, and therefore of the Territorial organisation, was in doubt. It was at this critical stage that King Edward intervened to ensure that the new scheme should have a fair trial. On the 26th of October, 1907, His Majesty received all the Lords-Lieutenant of Counties at Buckingham Palace, and had a friendly conference with them on the duties cast upon them by the new Army

legislation. His Majesty told them that a very great deal would depend upon them, although the ultimate success of the scheme would depend on the good-will of the people and on their willingness to serve. An appeal and an intimation from such a quarter met with no ungrudging response, and thereafter the Lords-Lieutenant set to work with a will to organise the associations. Undoubtedly the King touched the heart of the problem when he said that the success would depend ultimately on the willingness of the people to serve? Is it succeeding? The advocates of conscription have done all they could to thwart it from the start. Rival Army reformers whose plans



CHURCH SERVICE, SWANAGE CAMP.

Photo: Stevens, Poole.



Photo : Sports & General.

ON THE RANGE: KING EDWARD TALKING TO LORD CHEYLESMORE.

came to nothing have pursued it in and out of Parliament with bitter and persistent hostility. They have treated it, for the most part, as the one alternative—a failing alternative—to compulsory service. From motives of the highest patriotism—not, perhaps, untainted by party feeling—the plan has been assailed and misrepresented. But the Army as a whole is now organised for war on principles and administrative methods which the best military brains of the country can think of as applicable to the special needs of an Empire with an island centre; and the fact is indisputable that in the Territorial Army, which at the time of the King's death had almost reached its full

establishment of 300,000, the nation has a force immeasurably superior to the Volunteers of the pre-Haldane period. That it would constitute a force which could be pitted against trained troops is claimed for it by none; that it could be perfected into such a force by six months' training after mobilisation, or in whatever shorter time any untoward circumstance might permit, is more than doubtful; but in each of the three years since its inauguration it has made notable strides towards completeness of organisation and efficiency of training. The fourth will be the critical year of its existence. None can pretend to say that it represents finality and may not have to be supplanted

by some form of compulsory service, in which the young manhood of the nation will have to do what is now done by a patriotic and self-sacrificing minority. But that is a problem for the future. For the purposes of these volumes our task is accomplished when we have shown that our land forces underwent a comprehensive reorganisation during King Edward's reign. The idea of uniformity in military matters throughout the Empire was inherent in Mr. Haldane's scheme, and it remains to be added that the organisation and training of the military forces of the overseas States is to be assimilated to that of the home army. These forces are enlisted voluntarily, and for service within the territories; but that they would volunteer for service anywhere in a time of Imperial urgency may be taken as certain. They will fit automatically into the Imperial fighting line. Their capacity for expansion is limited only by the number of men of fighting age. Should

peril arise we could be an Empire in arms, not merely a nation. That is the ultimate ideal. Practical shape was given to it during 1909, when there assembled in London, as an outcome of the Imperial Conference of 1907, a Conference on Imperial defence, whose office it was to discuss specific proposals which had been worked out by the General Staff of the Army. It discussed naval matters also, but these will receive separate treatment when we have to describe the Navy controversy of the last years of the reign. The object of the military proposals was to ensure that the forces of the overseas States should be so organised and equipped as to be interchangeable with the home army. It was agreed that under the organisation of an Imperial general staff, local forces should be standardised with those of the parent State, and thus form part of a great homogeneous army, with the same equipment, arms, training manuals, words of command, and the



Photo: Gale & Polden.

THE ROYAL ENGINEERS' WIRELESS TELEGRAPH STATION IN THE FIELD.

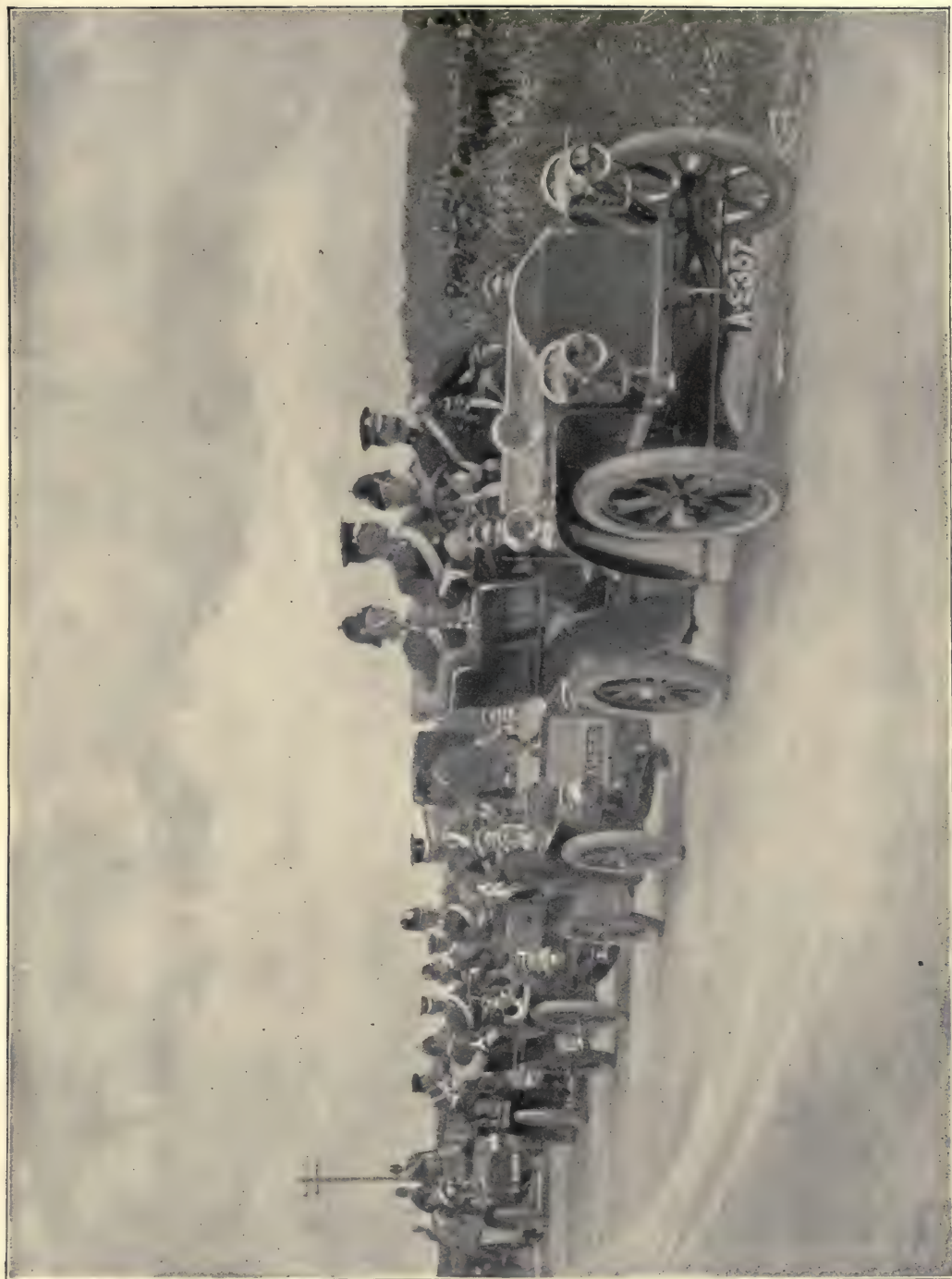


Photo: Archer.

THE VOLUNTEER MOTOR CORPS LINING UP FOR REVIEW BY KING EDWARD VII.

like. The fundamental idea is—in Mr. Haldane's language—that the Empire is one and indivisible for purposes of defence, and that wherever the theatre of war may be our forces shall be so organised as to permit of the concentration of our military power from all parts of the Empire. Each Dominion has full control over the forces it maintains; but by general consent the principle is now

accepted throughout the Dominions that local military forces shall be so organised as to make practicable an automatic adjustment of parts into an organic whole. We are all of us too close to this conception to realise its far-reaching consequences. It is not the least of the glories of King Edward's reign that it saw the rise to office of the first Imperialist Minister of War the British Empire has known.



TERRITORIALS ON THE MARCH.

Photo: Archer.

CHAPTER X

KING EDWARD AS A SPORTSMAN

The King's Interest in Racing—Success of Minoru—The Enthusiasm of the Derby Day Crowd—Winning the Derby with Persimmon—The Achievements of the Sandringham Stud—The King's Turf Winnings—In the Coverts and the Hunting Field—His Interest in Cycling and Golf—Yacht-Racing—Some Early Racers—Winning the Royal Cup—The *Britannia*—A Contest with *Shamrock I*—The King on *Shamrock II*—The Accident of 1901—His Narrow Escape—The Race for the America Cup—King Edward's Dogs—The Kennels at Sandringham.

IN 1909 King Edward VII. had the satisfaction of being the first English Sovereign to win the Derby. It was a satisfaction shared by his subjects—perhaps surreptitiously even by those who felt that the ethics of the racecourse were questionable and the life-long devotion of His Majesty to “the sport of kings” a theme for regret. Be that as it may, the people were jubilant at the King's success. Whether his interest in the Turf contributed to that remarkable extension of the betting habit which is so regrettable a feature of our social history is for the moralist to determine; and there will be as many opinions on that as there are degrees of strength in the Puritan sentiment, which survives in every class; but even the most censorious critics of a King's recreation shared in the pleasure of the populace that the Derby winner of 1909 should have been led back to the paddock by the Sovereign.

He had excelled in a sport distinctively English. Fortune had smiled upon him in this in the very heyday of his success as monarch, and at a time when it had seemed impossible for him to stand higher in the esteem and admiration of his subjects. In foreign and in home affairs events had been so

shaped under his influence as to attract to him as a man the attention of the nation, and to win for him a personal popularity such as none of his predecessors had enjoyed—not even Queen Victoria, the circumstances of whose reign were dissimilar. The duties which he assumed and carried out so successfully were essentially masculine. The victory on the Downs was regarded by the nation as further evidence of the good fortune that attended him in whatever he undertook; and the nation rejoiced in the success of Minoru not less—indeed, much more—than in that straightening out of foreign complications which King Edward had helped so much to bring about.

The Derby of that year was something more than a demonstration of enthusiasm by race-goers at the King's participation in their sport. It was not the colt alone that was the favourite for the race. It was the King. The reception given him was not merely the reception given to a popular owner, whose colours for many a year had been familiar to thousands; it was one to a sportsman who had played a great part in yet more momentous contests, and had come out of them with signal honour. Never had there been so vast an attendance on the Downs. Thousands must have gone there who had no



KING EDWARD'S HORSE MINGRU. WINNER OF THE 1909 DERBY.
(From the Painting by J. Hanson Walker, Jun.)

real interest in horseracing, and solely in the hope that their desire that the King would win might be gratified, and that they could contribute to the ovation he was sure to receive in that event. The exultation of the multitude, after an exciting race had been run and it was known that Minoru had got home, knew no bounds. Flushed with pride and pleasure, the smiling Sovereign led the victor from the winning-post to the paddock amid a storm of frantic applause, such as had never before been heard on any course. The shouting on the Downs reverberated through the Empire. The King had won the Derby! There was not a subject of the King who did not rejoice at his victory. Many would have given a

great deal to have been witnesses of that tumultuous scene, and to have been there to cheer the King as he led the colt through the crowd. How different the Derby of 1910! But a few days previously the King had been borne to the grave. It was a black Derby—a silent Derby. The throng was not half the size of that of the previous year. Mourning was universal. The silence was oppressive. Everyone was thinking of the owner who would never be seen again. The visualised memory of the spectacle of 1909 became painfully obtrusive. This writer has seen many Derbys, from the standpoint of one whose duty it has been to depict the panorama of the life of the nation day by day. The memory of the Derby of 1910

is of a painful dream. The racing world was there, not to race, but to mourn for the leading race-goer of the time. The King was dead ! That was the significance of the scene. The thud of the galloping thoroughbreds fell on the ear like the music of a dirge.

As Prince of Wales, King Edward had twice before won the great race—first in 1896, with Persimmon, who led by a neck after one of the most exciting contests ever seen on the Downs ; and again in 1900, with Diamond Jubilee.

He had been racing since the 'seventies, but his luck had been spasmodic, and none of his horses had come near winning a great event. As a young man he was passionately fond of riding, and was wont to take part in steeplechases—to the acute anxiety of those elder associates by whom he was surrounded. His purple and gold colours were first registered in 1875—"purple body with gold braid," says the official entry, "scarlet sleeves, black velvet cap with gold fringe." They were first seen on the flat in 1877. In

1882 the Prince won the Household Brigade Cup at Sandown. Six years later the Prince, whose racing experiences had thus far not been fortunate, paid his first visit to the Liverpool meeting, but his horse proved to be no good. Meanwhile he had set up a stud at Sandringham, under the supervision of Lord Marcus Beresford and Sir Dighton Probyn, and had some horses in training in Mr. John Porter's stables at Kingsclere.

Ill-fortune followed him for some years. "I have only won one race under Jockey Club Rules," he is reported to have said in 1886, "but I am not discouraged, and I shall go on. I hope to own one of these days a Derby winner of my own breeding ; but at the present time my luck is so bad that if a horse of mine were winning a race, it would drop dead before passing the post." The change of fortune set in when he bought for the Sandringham stud a brood mare, which he named Perdita II. She was the dam of three famous brothers : Florizel II., who won the Gold Vase at Ascot in 1895 ; Persimmon, the winner of



PERSIMMON, THE KING'S FIRST DERBY WINNER.



KING EDWARD VII. IN THE HUNTING FIELD.

the 1896 Derby, over Mr. Leopold Rothschild's St. Frusquin, with whom the horse had had many a previous encounter ; and Diamond Jubilee—an animal of peculiar habits, who behaved like a mad horse when the humour seized him, but easily won the 1900 Derby for the Prince of Wales. These three horses redeemed the fortunes of the King's stables, and won many races on various courses. Persimmon, in the end, had a bad accident and had to be destroyed. Diamond Jubilee was sold to an Argentine breeder for £30,000. On King Edward's accession another run of bad luck set in. Minoru was one of a bunch of colts King Edward leased from Mr. Hall Walker. To win the Derby with a leased horse was not quite like winning it with one bred at Sandringham ; but the string of horses there had not turned out well. At the King's death there were twenty-five in the Sandringham racing stables, fourteen of them two-year-olds. The King hugely enjoyed his racing days. There was no happier man on the course, and he would mix with the throng in the paddock and enclosures with a freedom and amiability that made racing men of all classes idolise him. His racing must have cost him a lot, but there were a few years in which his winnings were substantial.

From certain statistics issued by an ingenious paragraphist it appears that the King's worst year was in 1892, when his winnings totalled but £190. His maximum was £29,858 in 1900, and during his last year of racing he netted £20,144.

The King "backed his fancy," but he himself has placed it on record that he had a horror of gambling for gambling's sake. Racing was a sport for him, and his sportsmanship was ever above reproach.

3 u*



KING EDWARD VII. AT GOODWOOD.

Next to racing came yachting. We omit here all mention of his prowess as a shot, concerning which something has been said in an earlier volume. To the last he retained his zest for a day in the coverts and maintained his extraordinary skill. Few could bring down "rocketers"



Photo: Car Illustrated.

KING EDWARD VII. IN
HIS MOTOR CAR.



in a hot corner with so much precision and ease. At cricket he was never much good. Football does not comport with Royal dignity, and in his youth it was very little played. With advancing years he

of the earliest patrons, and he soon acquired so absolute a confidence in that delightful method of getting over the ground that his chauffeurs drove as they willed. After his accession he toyed



KING EDWARD'S CHARGER "KILDARE."

Photo: W. W. Rouch & Co

rode less and, except when on his way to the coverts, was seldom seen on horseback. At reviews he made a fine figure, and sat his horse like a man who lived in the saddle. In late middle life he took to cycling, or rather tricycling, but he was never seen outside his own grounds on "ironmongery." Of motoring he was one

with golf, of which he had had earlier experience on the links at Musselburgh, in the North. He had a course laid out at Windsor; but was never a great enthusiast of the game. Yachting was a lifelong pursuit. There could not have been many Cowes regattas at which he was not present. He won



the Royal Cup with the *Hildegarde* as far back as 1877, and twice with the *Britannia*, in 1895 and 1897. His first craft was a 36-ton cutter, the *Dagmar*, bought in 1865 for cruising purposes.

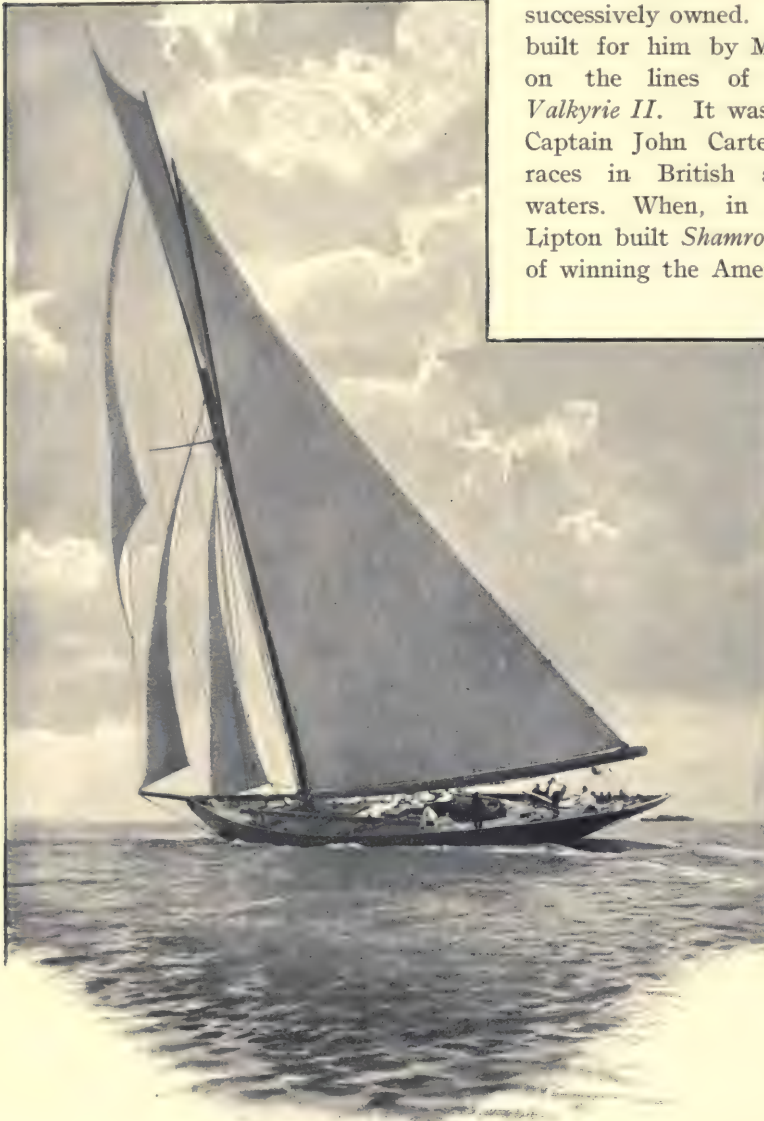


Photo : Symonds, Portsmouth.
LORD DUNRAVEN'S YACHT, VALKYRIE.

The steam yacht was then coming into vogue, but was taboo by the select. For a time the Prince used a steam yacht as an auxiliary, but he remained faithful to sail. The evolution of the racing type is recorded in the vessels which he successively owned. The *Britannia* was built for him by Mr. George Watson, on the lines of Lord Dunraven's *Valkyrie II*. It was sailed by the late Captain John Carter, and won many races in British and Mediterranean waters. When, in 1898, Sir Thomas Lipton built *Shamrock I*, with the idea of winning the America Cup, the King

had the *Britannia* fitted out to compete against her in her trials. The *Shamrock* did not bring back the cup, and *Shamrock II* was built. On this vessel King Edward had a narrow escape from death. He had taken a great interest in the construction of the new racer, and in May, 1901, found time to go to Southampton to take part, with Sir Thomas Lipton, in a trial between *Shamrock I* and *Shamrock II*.



KING EDWARD'S RACING YACHT, *BRITANNIA*.

Photo: West, Southsea.

"The King," says a writer in describing the incident, "embarked on *Shamrock II.*, which was shortly afterwards rounded up to take a line on the port tack, the breeze being fresh. Suddenly, without any warning, her whole cloud of canvas went by the board, followed by her mast, leaving the vessel a dismantled wreck. The King, who was sitting aft with several other guests, was providentially preserved from harm, for, as it happened, the list at which the yacht was sailing carried most of the wreckage clear over the side. But

this was purely fortuitous, for the yacht was in the act of coming up to the wind, and a few seconds later the huge boom would have been in-board, and, had the catas-

trophe been delayed for that short period, must have fallen among the party, some of whom, as it was, had a very narrow escape from the falling gear. A steam launch, which was in attendance, rescued the King from his perilous situation.

"This accident to *Shamrock II.* caused the postponement of the races for the America Cup to the end of September. Ill-fortune dogged the yacht, and after three of the finest and closest races on record, she succumbed to the American defender *Columbia*. But, although de-

feated, *Shamrock II.* was not disgraced, only losing the contests in three courses, each extending over fifty miles, by the narrow limit of a few seconds in each race. In the third she actually crossed the line in advance of her rival, to whom, however, she had to concede a time allowance, which relegated her to the second place. The races were sailed under excellent conditions of weather, over a varied course, and in a perfectly fair field with no undue favour, and no doubt remained but that the best boat had won. Great sympathy was felt for Sir Thomas Lipton, who had spared neither trouble nor expense to put forward as England's champion the



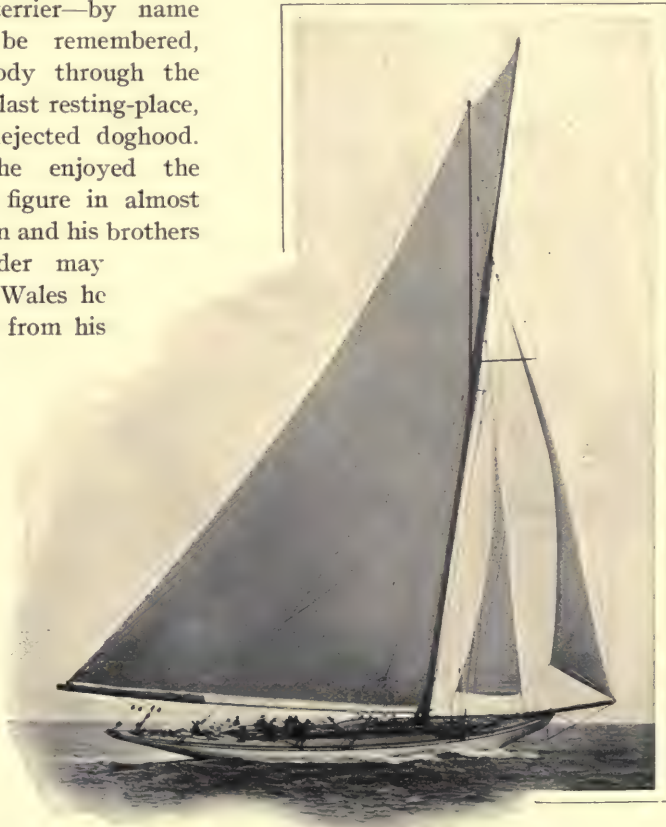
SHAMROCK I.

Photo: West, Southsea.

very finest craft that the ingenuity of the yacht builder could supply, and his sterling pluck and good sportsmanship deserved, if they did not win, success. It was with a sad heart that the nation saw the coveted trophy remain in the hands of our cousins across the Atlantic."

The companionship of dogs was a source of continual pleasure to the late King. His kennels at Sandringham were world-famed among "doggy" people, and he always had one dog about him which knew no other master. This honour in the later years of his reign fell upon a rough-haired English terrier—by name Caesar—who, it will be remembered, followed the King's body through the streets of London to its last resting-place, a pathetic picture of dejected doghood. From his childhood he enjoyed the society of dogs. They figure in almost every early picture of him and his brothers and sisters. The reader may recall that as Prince of Wales he brought back with him from his Atlantic journey in 1860 a magnificent Newfoundland, whom he named Cabot, after the discoverer of the island. This was the progenitor of a line not yet extinct in the Royal kennels. For a long time the King's taste ran to Clumber spaniels, and he had one of the finest teams in England for service in the coverts at Windsor Great Park;

but he bred dogs of all sorts—mastiffs, borzois, bloodhounds, retrievers, and every kind of terrier. He had exhibited dogs as early as 1864, and had been a patron of the Kennel Club since 1873. There is a dogs' cemetery at Sandringham, with a little monument for each departed favourite, the stone bearing a short inscription. A Siberian dog, Beattie, has a record as having been "for ten years the faithful companion of the Prince of Wales." The love of dogs was strong in Edward VII., and it was a trait shared to the full by his illustrious consort.



SHAMROCK II.

Photo: Kirk, Cowes.



Photo: Spence, Musselburgh.

THE LINKS, MUSSELBURGH, WHERE KING EDWARD FIRST PLAYED GOLF.

King Edward cared little for fishing, a matter often commented upon by ardent anglers as somewhat strange, seeing that he had a Highland home and his visits were frequent. This would seem to infer that the King was essentially a man of action, and all will agree that he was

a good sportsman, genial, sympathetic and possessed of a keen sense of enjoyment which no Royal etiquette could restrain or conceal. But, nevertheless, he always preserved the dignity of his station, and allowed no one to presume upon his good nature.



Photo, supplied by Messrs. Anderson & Sons.

KING EDWARD'S GOLF CLUBS.

CHAPTER XI

A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS—ITS ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS

The Home Rule Bill of 1893, a First Cause—"A Settled Habit of Hostility"—Mr. Gladstone's Protest—Lord Rosebery's Concurrence—Ten Years of Tory Government—The Surprise of 1906—Undermining the Power of the Upper House—The Lords' Rejection of the Education Bill and the Scotch Land Bill—The Proposed Conference—Five-Year Parliaments—Abolition of the Upper House Proposed in the Commons—Lord Rosebery's Select Committee—The Government "Going Too Fast"—Mr. Victor Grayson's Meteoric Career—The Scottish Campaign of 1907—Illness and Resignation of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—Mr. Asquith in Power—The Licensing Bill—History of its Inception, Course and Defeat—The Lansdowne Conference—The Lloyd George Budget—The Chancellor's Early History—Broadening the Basis of Taxation—Money Wanted for the Navy—The Cry for "Dreadnoughts"—Providing for the Old Age Pensions—A Long and Furious Struggle—The New Land Taxes—Unearned Increment—The Situation in December, 1909.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the progress made by King Edward and his Ministers in readjusting foreign relations and occupying the long-neglected territory of Social Reform, there arose within Parliament itself a conflict of interests which culminated in an acute constitutional crisis. In the height of that crisis King Edward died. We shall trace in outline its origin, development and climax. It should be scarcely necessary to say, however, that with the inception of the crisis King Edward had nothing to do. It was brought about by the play of political and social forces of which the Monarch is, of necessity, a passive spectator, that is, until a deadlock occurs in the legislative system. He may warn his Ministers of the probable consequences of their acts, and of the acts which, on their advice, he himself commits; but he cannot direct and control or exercise a determining will as Sovereign so long as the Parliamentary machine is not brought to a standstill. When that happens it is for him to find a way of restarting it by exercising the Royal prerogative.

Such a standstill did not occur while King Edward lived, but, as we shall see, the position just before his death was that nothing but his intervention could have brought the two Houses of the Legislature into co-operative action again. The story of the rivalry between them is as old as the history of the two Houses. For the purposes of this narrative it is unnecessary to go farther back than the rejection of the Second Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords in 1893. Other Liberal legislation had been handled with much roughness by the Peers. Save for an insignificant group of Liberal Peers, the House of Lords was a House of Conservatives, with every appearance of a settled habit of hostility to the House of Commons whenever a Liberal Government was in power. Against this Mr. Gladstone made a significant protest when he retired from office in March, 1894. He briefly examined the constitutional aspect of the differences between the two Houses, and declared that they had brought about "a state of things of which we are

compelled to say that in our judgment it cannot continue." He was speaking for himself and for Liberalism. He was challenging the veto power of the House of Lords and defining an issue which sooner or later would have to be fought out. His successor as Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, was in entire agreement with him. He had always advocated a

power it is exercised at the dictation of the Carlton Club." That was the state of things which Mr. Gladstone had declared could not continue. But the times were not propitious for ending it. The country was not distressed by the rejection of the Second Home Rule Bill, and an agitation against the House of Lords which the more eager Liberals began



THE CARLTON CLUB, PALL MALL, LONDON.

reform of the House of Lords from within. His view was that with a democratic suffrage the House of Lords was an anomaly and a danger. The hereditary legislators, instead of reflecting the opinion of the country, had become "one great Tory organisation, at the beck and call of a single individual," namely, the leader of a Party. "When a Tory Government is in power, the power of the veto is not exercised by the House of Lords, but when a Liberal Government is in

fell flat. Lord Rosebery's Government ploughed the sands. In 1895 the Unionist Party entered upon the ten years of office, the incidents of which have previously been described. During those years the functions of the House of Lords as a Chamber of revision and rejection may almost be said to have been in abeyance. In each House there was a great majority under the same Party management. Someone has said that the way to be cured of an excessive admiration of the House



of Lords is to go and look at it. Throughout those ten years debates were few and brief. The House was like a fifth wheel to the coach. But when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was returned to power with a colossal Liberal majority, in 1906, the House of Lords

not been long in power before it was seen that a conflict between the two Houses was inevitable, and that the real master of the political situation for the time being was not the Liberal Prime Minister, however great his majority, but Mr. Balfour, the leader of the Oppo-



THE CENTRAL HALL OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

revived amazingly. For the past decade the attendance had been insignificant. It suddenly enlarged. The explanation lay on the surface. A Liberal Government was in power; and behind that Liberal Government there was a Labour-Socialist party pledged not only to the abolition of the House of Lords, but also to the abolition of private ownership in land. The Liberal Government had

sition, working through the Conservative majority of the House of Lords. In the first Session of the new Parliament the rejection by the Lords of certain measures which the Government regarded as of first-class importance brought the question of the status and functions of the House of Lords to the front once more. The Liberal Government had been definitely challenged on legislation which the Peers



regarded as subversive of the rights of property and of the electoral rights of owners of property. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman took up the challenge in the following Session by moving in the House of Commons a resolution in these terms: "That in order to give effect to the Will of the People, as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail." [

This resolution he submitted to test the opinion of the Commons and also as a preliminary to the introduction of a Bill to give effect to its principle. That Bill he promised for a later date. His argument in support of the resolution was that the House of Commons alone was qualified to give authoritative expression to the national mind and purpose. An Education Bill and a Scotch Land Bill had been rejected by the House of Lords on the ground that the Government had no mandate from the country to legislate on these subjects. Sir Henry denied that the Lords had any right to resist legislation by any such plea. Explaining the lines of his pro-

posed Bill, he informed the country that when the two Houses found agreement on a Bill impossible there would be a conference "of small dimensions" between an equal number of members of the two Houses. This conference would be private. Its purpose would be to endeavour to arrive at an agreement such as the

Government could accept. If the conference failed there was to be an interval, say, of six months. Should the same Bill afterwards be reintroduced by the Government it could pass through its stages without debate, and be sent to the Lords for their reconsideration. If differing from its predecessor, discussion would be limited to the new matter. If the House of Lords did not then accept it there might be another conference. Should that also fail the Bill could be re-



MEMBERS VOTING IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

introduced forthwith, passed through all its stages without debate and then be sent to the House of Lords with an intimation that unless it were carried in that form it would be passed over their heads. But another conference might even then be held. Accompanying the Bill would be a measure limiting the duration of Parliaments to five years. The object of that was to prevent an effete Parliament, out of touch with the

constituencies, forcing through undesirable legislation on the eve of possible dismissal by the electorate. That was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's plan. Its defect was that it would be in-operative without a fundamental change in the Constitution. Legislative proposals cannot reach the Sovereign until after they have received the advice and consent of the House of Lords. They have no

paramountcy in the last resort of the House of Commons, the bicameral system was not assailed, nor was any attack made on the composition and non-elective character of the House of Lords. The principle of a conference between the two Houses, and the adjustment of differences by agreement, was affirmed—three successive conferences on each Bill if necessary. But these conferences were



INTRODUCING A NEW PEER TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

effect until they have received the Royal Assent, not in the House of Commons, but in the House of Lords. An intimation by the Commons, on the third time of submitting a Bill to the Lords, that unless it was then passed in that form it would be carried despite them would, if the Lords continued to be obdurate, be only a waste of breath. There would be a deadlock, and the Government making such an intimation would either have to bear an ignominious affront or resign. It will, however, be observed that though the principle of the motion was the

to be held with closed doors. The Government would not be bound by its decisions, nor would the dominant party in either House, though as a matter of practice the decisions would be ratified. Informal conferences had long been the custom between Liberal Governments and the House of Lords majority in cases where both Houses had wished to save a Bill but had found a difficulty in agreeing to Lords' amendments of detail, and the work of these informal conferences had usually been ratified in both Houses. The motion did not go far enough for the Labour Socialists

and many Radicals, though it was satisfactory to the Liberal Party as a whole. The leader of the Labour group, Mr. Arthur Henderson, moved an amendment: "That the Upper House, being an irresponsible part of the Legislature, and of necessity representative only of interests opposed to the general well-being, is a hindrance to national progress and ought to be abolished." On this principle, it was argued, the Labour members had won their seats. They made no secret of their opinion that the quicker and better way of making the will of the Commons supreme was not by tinkering or mending, but by ending the House of Lords. That amendment was rejected by 315 votes to 100, and the resolution carried by 432 to 147. Mr. Balfour took part in the debate, and affirmed the principle that the House of Commons was the predominant partner in the Constitution; but he objected to the House of Lords being made still more subordinate in the sphere of legislation than he thought it was. The Ministerial plan he treated as one for carrying into effect the will of the Government for the time being, not the will of the nation. He was in agreement with the Labour members in doubting the sincerity of the Government, and challenged them to produce their measure. That was the situation in the summer of 1907. Meanwhile a Bill was before the House of Lords which embodied proposals of self-reform. This was not proceeded with, but the House was reluctant to take up the position that it was incapable of improvement, and it therefore appointed a Select Committee to report on "the suggestions which have from time to time been made for increasing the efficiency of the House in matters

of legislation." There were many such suggestions. The late Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, and Lord Dunraven were among the reformers, and it was Lord Rosebery who persuaded the House to appoint this Committee. It did not report until December, 1908, by which time the quarrel between the two Houses had become serious and embittered. The view of the Committee was that the House was too large, and might with advantage be reduced by the exclusion of Peers who showed a distaste for Parliamentary duties. They thought that, except in the case of Peers of the Blood Royal, the possession of a Peerage should not of itself carry the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, and that Peers with such a right, whatever its tenure, should be distinguished by the title of "Lord of Parliament." The qualification for the right to sit and vote in a reformed House of Lords should, they thought, be experience of affairs such as could be obtained by holding high office under the Crown, or by active voluntary service in public life. But it was not proposed to limit the House to this small section of the Peerage. The recommendation was that the hereditary Peers should form themselves into an Electoral College, and elect two hundred of their number to sit and vote as a Lord of Parliament. These elected Peers were not, however, to sit for life, as does an Irish Representative Peer, but only for the duration of a Parliament, as is the case with the Scotch Representative Peers. Such a scheme of reform, though it would have reduced the numbers of the House of Lords, and restricted the right to sit and vote to men of distinction and capacity, would in no wise change the existing

political character of the House, or lessen the disproportion between Conservatives and Liberals. It left the power of the veto untouched. Such a reconstituted House would still be Conservative. Indeed, an incident occurred in the succeeding General Election which suggested that an Electoral College of hereditary Peers would take good care that no Peer suspected of Liberal tendencies would ever be allowed to become a Lord of Parliament. A Representative Peer of Scotland had had the temerity to display such tendencies on one occasion during the 1906—1909 Parliament. He was not re-elected. Broadly viewed, the Committee had come to nothing, because it had ignored the central fact of the entire controversy—namely, which of the two Houses should prevail in the last resort when agreement upon any specific legislative proposal could not be reached?

The country received the Prime Minister's plan with its customary calm. It seemed to take a certain sporting interest in the conflict of will between the two Houses; but it did not believe that Sir Henry meant business. The House of Lords went its own way, doing what it willed with Liberal legislation, revising and rejecting with disdainful regard of the menace embodied in the resolution. Its chief offences in 1906 were the rejection of an Education Bill hostile to the Church of England voluntary schools, and a Bill to abolish plural voting—voting by an elector in each constituency in which he has a property qualification. In 1907, it so hacked about a Scotch Land Bill, with the help of Lord Rosebery, who, to the intense chagrin of Liberals, came out of his lonely furrow to harass his

whilom friends, that the Government declined to proceed with it; and it rejected out of hand a Bill for the valuation of land in Scotland, rightly scenting in that measure fiscal ideas of general application. The Government thus found themselves wholly blocked in carrying out promises which had gained for them huge majorities north of the Tweed. But after having rejected on thirteen occasions a Bill to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister, which had been carried in the Commons by successive large majori-



Photo: Haines.

THE RT. HON. A. BIRRELL, M.P.

ties, the Lords passed the Bill, to the infinite distress of the Peers Spiritual, who hastened to forbid their clergy to perform the marriage ceremony in such cases. But our present business is not with this curious bit of social legislation, for which, by the way, King Edward VII., when Prince of Wales, had once voted in the House of Lords, nor need our narrative be delayed by this remarkable change of front by the House of Lords. The truth was that there were high social influences behind the Bill. Reverting to the apathy of the country, it should be noted that the mismanagement of the legislative business of the first and second Sessions,

when too much had been attempted at once, and that of too extreme a character to be acceptable to many, had caused a strong reaction against the Government. There were two distinct currents. The Education Bill had seriously offended Liberal churchmen, and middle-class Liberals were beginning to fear that the Government were going too fast. Old Age Pensions were seen to be inevitable, and the financial aspects of that problem frightened not a few. Thus Liberalism



Photo: Elliot & Fry.

THE RT. HON. REGD. MCKENNA, M.P.

developed differences within itself. There were those who cried forward, and those who cried back, and at various bye-elections it was apparent that many who had voted Liberal, or had abstained because of the fiscal question in 1906, had transferred or returned to their allegiance to the Unionists. The pendulum had begun to swing away from the Government. The other current of reaction was caused by the revolt of Labour. There was an irreconcilable difference of opinion between the Government and their Labour allies about the House of Lords. The sincerity of the Government was openly impugned in the constituencies. The

Campbell-Bannerman plan was derided. Liberals were represented as sham reformers. They had been two years in office. There had been much cry, but little wool. The indictment was true enough, and it had a stupendous effect in at least one part of the country—the Colne Valley Division of Yorkshire, where a young Socialist, Mr. Victor Grayson, was returned by a large majority in a three-cornered constituency. He had fought the Liberal candidate as fiercely as he had the Tory. The strength of the Socialist vote astounded the country. Mr. Grayson was a firebrand. “Now is the time to strike a blow at capitalism and landlordism, and for the downtrodden and oppressed,” said his address to the Colne Valley electors. “Workers, unite! You have a world to win, and only your chains to lose.” The “world to win” was the “£350,000,000 in rents” taken by “idle landlords,” free maintenance of school children, abolition of the House of Lords, the confiscation of accumulations of wealth by progressive taxation on land and incomes. It was a momentous election, and its effects were notable. It frightened half the Liberal party out of their zeal for reform; it acted like a spur on the other half. It stiffened the resolution of the House of Lords and their Unionist supporters in the Commons and in the country to resist any legislation in furtherance of such a programme. In the autumn of 1907 the Premier journeyed to Scotland to carry on a crusade against the House of Lords. He preached the doctrine of the supremacy of the House of Commons. With the reform of the House of Lords he was not concerned. That might come later. The first thing to do was to ensure that the

will of the Commons should prevail. Sir Henry was a Second Chamber man. With a Unionist Administration we had what was practically a Single Chamber system. Under his scheme, however, there would be a great deal more of the Second Chamber element than there ever was under the Unionist regime. The crusade excited little concern in England, whatever it did in Scotland. The Liberals were half-hearted, the Radicals and Labour-Socialists were contemptuous. When Parliament met in 1908 the King's Speech made no reference to the House of Lords. In the previous year His Majesty had been made to say that serious questions affecting the working of the Parliamentary system had arisen from unfortunate differences between the two Houses, and that this important subject was under consideration, with a view to a solution. The "unfortunate differences" had been sharply accentuated. A plan by which they might have been ended had fallen still-born. Then, in the early part of the Session, came the illness of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and, in April, his resignation. The reins of Government passed to the hands of Mr. Asquith, and the energies of Parliament and of the nation were henceforth concentrated upon legislation, which brought the two Houses into even more strenuous and bitter conflict.

Thus the next stage in the development of the Constitutional crisis which overshadowed the latter days of Edward VII. was due to the passage through the House of Commons and the rejection by the House of Lords of legislative proposals for the reduction of the number of public-houses in England and Wales. Throughout the lifetime of the King there had been

a steady decrease of drunkenness, and the tendency of legislation was still further to limit the power and opportunities of the liquor trade to minister to the public appetite for alcoholic refreshment; but the political power of the Trade, which attached itself to the Conservative Party, was too great for any Government to attempt restrictive legislation without finding itself in extremely perilous waters. There were many such attempts during the reign of Queen Victoria, when the political



Photo: Russell.

THE RT. HON. HERBERT SAMUEL, M.P.

situation as between the Trade and Parties was that the Liberals had come to be regarded as the implacable enemies of the Trade, and the Conservatives as its reluctant defenders—reluctant because under the influence of scientific study of social problems very many Conservatives who had no direct interest in brewing and distilling concerns had been forced to the conclusion that one of the first steps to social reform was the more stringent regulation of the traffic in drink. At bottom both Parties were agreed that reform was necessary; but neither had found it practicable to grapple with the question.

The Unionist Parliament had in 1904

passed an Act based on the principles that whenever a renewal of the annual licence was refused by the licensing magistrates on grounds of public policy there should be compensation to the holder of the licence, and that such compensation should be paid by the Trade itself. This Act thus created a vested interest in a licence. Its supporters defended the Act on the ground of equity, while its opponents claimed that it was a concession for Party purposes to a trade with which the Conservatives had ever been in alliance. Be that as it may, the operative effect of the Bill was to facilitate the reduction in the number of licensed premises. In 1905 the on-licences extinguished under the Act numbered over five hundred; in 1907 the extinctions rose to two thousand. But simultaneously with these reductions there was an increase in the number of clubs, and it was not apparent that the normal decline in the national consumption of alcoholic liquors had been accelerated by the extinction of the licences. When the Liberal Government came into power they prepared far more drastic legislation, and in 1908 introduced a Bill providing for the compulsory reduction of licences on a population basis. This would have suppressed about thirty thousand licences. Compensation would be paid by a levy on the Trade. There would be a time limit of fourteen years, after which the monopoly value of the licence would be resumed by the State. The vested interest recognised by the Act of 1904 was to cease fourteen years after the passing of the new legislation. Was this just? The argument of the Government was that the State had given to the licence a value of its own which it could not have possessed had it not been a

monopoly licence, and that the licence-holder had no legal right to the enjoyment of that monopoly value in perpetuity. The precarious privilege of an annual licence was not property. In so far as the expectation of renewal and the practice of regarding that expectation as property, constituted a claim in equity, that claim was amply met by the delay of fourteen years, or whatever time might be fixed, before the State resumed the monopoly value for itself. The argument of the Opposition was that though a licence was not property in the sense of a full freehold tenure, it was a form of property which ought not to be taken away; the State had no right to compel licence holders to pay the levy for the extinction of licences during a period of years and then at the end of that period take the monopoly value from them. The issue between the Parties was essentially one of equity. Was the Bill just? There were protracted debates on its principles and details. It was introduced on the 27th of February, 1908, read a third time on the 20th of November, and passed by 350 votes to 113. With the merits or demerits of the Bill we are not here concerned; the only point on which the attention of the reader need now be fastened is that here was a Bill which, after many weeks of debate in which principles and methods had been attacked and defended by the best intellects at Westminster, had passed the House of Commons by a large majority. What would the House of Lords do in regard to it?

It is one of the Conventions of Parliament that the House of Lords has no knowledge of the work of the House of Commons until that work comes before it in the form of a Bill which has been

read a third time. Nothing had been said in the House of Lords, or by any prominent member of that House outside, which indicated the course that might be taken. Mr. Balfour in his many speeches on the Bill had indulged in no speculations as to what the House of Lords might or ought to do with it; but throughout the controversy there was confidence in the inner circles of the Trade that the House of Lords would reject the Bill. The confidence proved to be justified. There was an unusual circumstance connected with the rejection. The leader of the Conservative majority in the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne, called a meeting of his supporters at Lansdowne House. It was there decided to reject the Bill. The first reading of the Bill was formal. On the 25th of November Lord Crewe for the Government moved the second reading. Lord Lansdowne then moved "that this House, while ready to consider favourably any amendments which experience has shown to be necessary in the laws regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, declines to proceed further with a measure which, without materially advancing the cause of temperance, would occasion grave inconvenience to many of His Majesty's subjects and violate every principle of equity in its dealings with the numerous classes whose interests will be affected by the Bill." There had been no attendance so large since the rejection of the Home Rule Bill. After a formal debate which extended over three sittings, the amendment was carried by 272 against 96. The speeches were declamatory rather than argumentative. The majority had determined upon their course beforehand. In vain did Lord Rosebery plead that the Bill should be

sent into Committee. The Archbishop of Canterbury and other Peers Spiritual, who saw in the measure an instrument of social reform, were heard with polite indifference. The warnings of the Government that rejection would be attended by serious political consequences were unheeded. The majority regarded the Bill as an attack upon private property, and they slew it out of hand. So much



Photo: Bassano.
LORD CREWE.

for the second stage in the development of this ominous crisis.

The third and final stage—though final only within the limits of this narrative—was brought about partly by the financial necessities of the country, and partly by a daring exploitation by the Government of the taxable capacities of land and liquor. On the reconstitution of the Ministry, at the resignation of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Lloyd George had passed from the Board of Trade, where he had done good work and won the confidence of the commercial world, to the Treasury, and here he converted

several of his business friends into foes by a Budget that contained ideas which, before his advent, had been rigorously excluded from the Treasury. They were new ideas in national finance. When the

political history of the reign of King Edward comes to be written the rise of Mr. Lloyd George will be a conspicuous element in the narrative. A man of the people—as he was proud to describe him-



HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Photo: Russell.

self—he had passed his childhood in humble circumstances in a little Welsh village. After serving his articles he was admitted as a solicitor, and his abilities and ambitions took him as a young man into a wider field than that of the law. He appeared in the Commons as member for Carnarvon District in 1890, with a reputation for an intense Welsh Nationalism and Radicalism, and as a platform speaker of singular effectiveness.

In the House of Commons he became a dangerous debater, and did brilliant service for his Party as a critic of the Unionist Government, both in the House and at public meetings. The alertness and fertility of his mind, the outspoken courage of his opinions, his command of acrimonious or persuasive and pathetic or humorous speech—whichever best served his purpose at the moment—speedily made him one of the leading figures in Party politics. A passionate democrat, whose intellectual sympathies were with the Socialist Labour wing—though he repudiated the cardinal and reconstructive or revolutionary principle of Socialism—he excited the hopes of the "masses" and the hostility of the "classes." Against the landowning section of the community he stood as an avowed

political foe. It is doing him no injustice to say that his political doctrines as to land and accumulations of wealth, however derived, resolved themselves into a programme for the redistribution of wealth by whatever legislative and fiscal devices might be expedient and practicable. It was believed that having reached Cabinet rank he would be sobered by responsibility and would tread the beaten path. His



THE RT. HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.

Photo: Haines.

Presidency of the Board of Trade had a reassuring effect on the public mind. The Radical firebrand appeared for a time as a capable administrator, with the art of making himself popular and with none of that appalling solemnity or affectation of profound and unimpeachable wisdom which Ministers of the Crown sometimes assume. But the politician in him had in no wise changed, and the introduction of his first Budget in April, 1909, showed that he had used his opportunities as financier to give effect to his Radicalism. It was known that there would be a heavy deficit. In finance the nation had reached a stage when it had become imperative to find new sources of taxation—to "broaden the basis of taxation." The claim of the Tariff Reform party was that the basis could be broadened by the framing of a "scientific tariff" which at one and the same time would protect the home producer against the competition of the foreign producer in the English market and yet raise revenue for "Dreadnoughts" and Old Age Pensions. The argument was that Tariff Reform, involving an abandonment of the principle of free interchange of commodities, with certain exceptions retained for revenue purposes only, had become inevitable because of the growth of national expenditure and the lack of new and expansive sources of revenue within the nation. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer had attacked Tariff Reform with scarcely less vigour, though with less argumentative effect, than the new Prime Minister. So far from agreeing with the Tariff Reformers that "Free Trade finance" had broken down, he set himself to the task of destroying that part of the Tariff Reform case by showing that "Free Trade finance" was

capable of providing for the prospective as well as the immediate needs of the Treasury, and that in land and liquor—especially in land—there were vast reservoirs of wealth upon which the Treasury could draw, and that—from his point of view—without any violation of the equities of taxation. The deficit with which he was confronted amounted to £16,500,000. It was accounted for by the growth of naval expenditure and the cost of Old Age Pensions. On the Navy and on Old Age Pensions and other schemes of social reform the expenditure would continue to advance. He had therefore to cover the deficit and provide for still larger expenditure in the ensuing year. These were his postulates when, on the historic afternoon of the 29th of April, amid the gloom of an impending storm in the heavens, he made a four hours' speech in exposition of his Budget.

Here we may digress for a moment to say that the policy of Old Age Pensions had by this time become the common policy of all Parties in the State. There could be no going back on that, whatever it cost. All that could be done was to limit expenditure by resisting proposals to reduce the pension age to sixty-five. With regard to the Navy, the additional expenditure had been forced upon the Government—and they were most reluctant to be forced—by the complete failure to induce the Powers at the Peace Congress at the Hague to respond to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's overtures for an agreement for the limitation of armaments. During the first two years of the Liberal Administration there had been a pause in ship-building in the belief that by staying our hands other nations might be persuaded

to stay theirs. The Congress shattered that belief. It was necessary to make good the delay. Moreover, the Admiralty had learned in the latter part of 1908 that the German capacity for shipbuilding was greater than had been thought, and their judgment of the situation had obliged them to make further provision in the Navy estimates, which included the building and equipment of four battleships of the "Dreadnought" type, six protected cruisers, twenty destroyers, and a number of submarines; and to take power to lay down a further four "Dreadnoughts" for completion by March, 1912. The speech of Mr. McKenna, the First Lord of the Admiralty, was, in effect, a candid avowal of the urgent need of substantial additions to the Navy in view of the shipbuilding activity of Germany; and it was reinforced by a remarkable speech of the Prime Minister. Mr. Balfour made a still more remarkable speech, the effect of which was that our margin of safety as against Germany was disappearing, and

on the Government proposals would have disappeared in 1912, and be only partially regained when the new vessels now proposed were completed. He urged that the four contingent "Dreadnoughts" should be included in the year's programme. His view was that we were "face to face with a situation so new, so dangerous, that it is very difficult for us thoroughly to realise all that it imports." The debate startled the country. Mr. Balfour tabled a motion which was, in effect, a vote of censure, for it declared that the policy of the Government as to the immediate provision of battleships of the newest type "does not sufficiently secure the safety of the Empire." A furious controversy arose, and the upshot was that when introducing the shipbuilding vote Mr. McKenna declared that the Government, after very anxious and careful consideration of the shipbuilding in foreign countries, had come to the conclusion that it was desirable to ensure that the four contingent "Dreadnoughts" should be built by March,

1912. The phantom four were to be realities. For the sake of brevity we have given only a bare outline of this controversy, our object being that of establishing the fact that, so far from



Photo: Cribb, Southsea.

THE FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIP H.M.S. KING EDWARD VII.

complaining of the expenditure on the Navy as a cause of the deficit, the Opposition complained that the expenditure, past, present, and prospective, had been so inadequate that the safety of the Empire had been and would continue to be imperilled. They had no case, therefore, against increased taxation for the enlargement of the Navy. As patriots determined to maintain the Navy at all costs, and as social reformers who did not wish to take away Old Age Pensions, they were compelled to co-operate with the Government in the provision of revenue. The only possible difference between them and the Government was as to the specific taxation that should be levied. That was the position of affairs when Mr. Lloyd George introduced his Budget.

The new proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were, first, a valuation of all land in the United Kingdom, showing separately site value and total value, and,

in the case of agricultural land, the value of the land for agricultural purposes where the value differed from site value. Each parcel of land under separate occupation was to be valued separately. All owners of, and persons receiving rent from, land were required to furnish full particulars, and the value was to be calculated as on the 30th of April, 1909. Thus a foundation of present values was laid and a permanent base fixed from which all accretions of value could be measured and part—or the whole—swept into the Treasury. The new taxes on land were four. First, there was an increment value duty of £1 for every £5 rise in value from the datum line of the 30th of April, 1909. Thus, if a man returned the value of a plot of land at, say, £100 on the 30th of April, and sold it on the 1st of May for £105, the Treasury would receive £1; or if he thereafter granted a lease, or on the passing of the land at death, duty would



THE FIRING LINE ON H.M.S. DREADNOUGHT.

Photo: Cribb, Southsea.

be charged on the increment of value. But purely agricultural land was not to be subject to increment duty while the land had no higher value than its value for agricultural purposes. The object was to tax—to appropriate a proportion of that increase in the value of urban land which accrued from social causes independently of any effort by the owner. Expansion of towns and villages consequent upon the growth of population and industries was attended by an enormous increase in the value of the land over which the population compulsorily extended itself, and on contiguous land over which it was certain soon to extend. This increasing wealth, created solely by the growth and activities of the community, had gone into the pockets of the fortunate possessors of such land. They had done nothing to earn it. It was unearned increment; it was a "social value" of which the State could justly take toll. That was the argument. The logical conclusion was that if it was right to take from a man a part of that which he had not earned, it could not be wrong to take the whole. Hence the far-reaching nature of the proposal, having regard to the Socialist programme, and to Mr. Lloyd George's known views as a land reformer. The second tax on land values was a ten per cent. reversion duty on the falling in of leases. On the falling in of a building lease the structure or other works on the land, which the owner did not put there or maintain, become the absolute property of the owner. "A windfall" came to him by the mere flux of time, was the Chancellor's argument; it was just to tax that windfall, and he would appropriate ten per cent. for the State—only ten per cent. at present. The third new tax was

one halfpenny in the £1 on the original site value of undeveloped land—*i.e.* land "held up" against the community by an owner who contents himself with an



LORD CHARLES BERESFORD ON THE ROYAL YACHT.

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

income from it disproportionate to its capital value in order to increase its value and recoup himself hereafter when the economic necessities of the community compel its purchase or lease on greatly enhanced terms. The theory was that



A SUBMARINE OF 1910.

Photo : Cribb, Southsea.

the owner who could afford to wait until he could secure his own price created a speculative inflation of value which was socially mischievous. The fourth duty was one of a shilling in the pound on the rental value of all rights to work minerals and on mineral wayleaves. The argument here was that the owner of the land did not put the minerals under the surface, and contributed no capital or effort to the getting of them out of the land. Therefore it was just to tax the rental values which he charged those who did get them out. So much for land.

With regard to liquor, manufacturers' licences, wholesale dealers' licences, and retailers' licences were charged for at greatly increased rates. On spirits the duty was raised by 3s. 9d. per gallon, an addition which to the consumer meant another 6d. per bottle. "Swingeing" taxation had been threatened; "swingeing" taxation was levied.

The death duties, established in 1894 by Sir William Harcourt after bitter resistance in both Houses, were revised on an upward scale, the rate ranging from one per cent. in estates between £100 and £500 in value to fifteen per cent. on estates valued at over a million. The maximum of fifteen per cent. had not previously been reached on a value under £3,000,000. The argument was that great accumulations of wealth had not been

made to yield a fair share to the State from and through which it had been possible to garner the accumulations. The income-tax was revised, in a sense slightly favourable to men with small incomes and large families under sixteen, and unfavourable to the possessors of large incomes, for a super-tax of 6d. in the pound (which with 1s. 2d. on unearned incomes made a total of 1s. 8d.) was levied on all incomes above £5,000 a year, the super-tax to commence at £3,000. Thus a man with an annual income of £5,001 or more would pay 1s. 2d. on £3,000, and 1s. 8d. on £2,001 and upwards.

The stamp duties and the duties on motor cars were revised and increased.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's argument was that there was the deficit of sixteen millions, due solely to the increased cost of the Navy and to the charge for Old Age Pensions; that that deficit must be met; that he must get more money for the defence of the Empire and for carrying on the schemes of Social Reform; that he had placed his burdens on the broadest backs by taxing accumulated wealth and values created by the community; that he had made the masses pay their contribution to the growing needs of the State by taxing their luxuries—their spirits, beer, and tobacco; that he had made an equitable distribution of a total charge which could not be

reduced without sacrificing the security of the Empire or Old Age Pensions, or both ; that he had found reserves of taxable capacity which could be drawn upon without injustice to anyone, and that the only alternative to his plans was Tariff Reform, which meant the taxation of the necessities of life for the poor.

The Session was consumed in debating the Budget, which was strongly denounced by the Opposition, their arguments being concentrated upon the land taxes, the liquor licences, and the spirit duties. Apart from the contention that the Budget was Socialistic, the claim of the Opposition was that the land taxes would be unproductive relative to the cost of the valuation of land ; that the liquor taxation was vindictive, and would deprive numbers of men of their means of livelihood in a legitimate trade ; that the additional death duties, coupled with other taxation, would prove to be an intolerable burden upon men of wealth, and would "drive capital out of the country" ; that it was wrong to single out one form of increment value for special taxation—*i.e.* that of land—while leaving other forms

untouched ; and that the money needed by the State could more justly be obtained by Tariff Reform.

This sketch of the pros and cons of the Budget, and of the arguments by which it was supported and attacked, is of necessity very slight. It is written solely because of its bearings upon the growth of the constitutional crisis. The writer sat through the debates on the Bill from first to last, and in the light of that experience would crystallise the entire controversy in a sentence: The Budget, in so far as it was original, was a Socialistic Budget in the sense that it was framed on the principle of the appropriation by the State of socially created values. That was a new principle at the Treasury. By its assailants it was deemed to be an immoral principle, which covered an attack on property ; by the Government the principle was deemed to be of unassailable equity. Their contention was that they had put it forward, not with any ulterior and hostile motive against land-owners or the owners of property in any form, but solely as a means of meeting the imperative necessity to provide new



THE ARMOURD CRUISER H.M.S. INDOMITABLE.

Photo: West, Southsea.

and expanding sources of revenue. The Bill passed its third reading on the sixtieth day of debate—an average of eight hours daily.

Uncertainty as to the action that would be taken by the House of Lords, which had the right to reject a Finance Bill but not to amend it, was set at rest on the 16th of November, by Lord Lansdowne giving notice that on the second reading he would move "that this House is not justified in giving its consent to this Bill until it has been submitted to the judgment of the country." Disputable questions about the powers of the House of Lords with regard to money Bills cannot here be reviewed. The one fact essential to this narrative is that the Opposition majority in the House of Lords had predetermined to reject the Budget in order to force a dissolution. The Bill was debated in the Lords from the 22nd to the 30th of November. Lord Lansdowne made good his contention that the House had the technical right to reject a Finance Bill. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn, admitted the legal right, but argued that exercise of it was against constitutional usage. Lord Rosebery, who had publicly attacked the Budget as "revolutionary," urged the House not to risk its existence by throwing out the Budget. There was much inconclusive debate on the question of the equity and "morality" of the new principle of taxing "social values"; and the Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Gore, startled the House by claiming that the power of taxation could be used to redress the unequal distribution of wealth. But on the question of equity, the Peers Spiritual, with two exceptions—Dr. Gore and the Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Percival—gave no lead. Lord Balfour of Burleigh warned

the House that by rejecting the Bill it was making a constitutional change. Lord James of Hereford denied the competence of the House to reject a money Bill. Lord Curzon claimed that the House had an inherent right to refer the Bill to the country. Lord Crewe, in summing up the debate, said that the Opposition Peers regarded the Government's methods of taxation as revolutionary, and were themselves making a revolution by forming themselves into a Committee of Safety to refuse Supply. The position of Liberal Ministers in the House of Lords was becoming impossible. It was an unreformed House of Lords which was throwing out the Budget. Ministers had not sought the crisis. When a new Parliament assembled Liberals must set themselves to obtain guarantees, fenced about by force of statute, which would prevent the indiscriminate destruction of their legislation. The House rejected the Bill by 350 to 75—a majority of 275. In the Commons the next day Mr. Asquith gave notice of a resolution:

"That the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by this House for the service of the year is a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons."

The Prime Minister moved the resolution on the 2nd of December, and announced that the Government had advised the Crown to dissolve Parliament. The House, he said, would be unworthy of its past and its traditions if it allowed another day to pass without making it clear that it did not mean to brook the gravest indignity and the most arrogant usurpation to which, for more than two



CHRISTIANIA AS SEEN FROM THE ROYAL YACHT.
Photographed by Queen Alexandra.



KING HAAKON AND HIS SON OLAF.



QUEEN MAUD AND OLAF.

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

centuries, it had been asked to submit. The talk about the right of the Peers to refer measures to the people was the hollowest political cant, the thin rhetorical veneer by which it was sought to gloss over the partisan and unconstitutional action of a purely partisan Chamber.

While events were hastening to their climax King Edward and Queen Alexandra had been out of the country. The King, who had been in indifferent health, had followed his usual practice and spent the early autumn at Marienbad. The Queen had visited Norway, staying for some weeks of August and September with her

daughter, Queen Maud. The little Prince Olaf, always a favourite of his grandmother, had become a sturdy boy of six years, giving promise of the proportions of his father King Haakon VII.

But, by the time the crisis had become acute, both King Edward and Queen Alexandra were back in England. With its inception and progress the King had had nothing to do. What he thought of the Budget proposals few could have been in a position to conjecture. He appeared in the controversy at its climax as the authority set in motion by the Ministry for the dissolution of Parliament.



Photo: Ralph, Dersingham.

**KING EDWARD VII. IN PRIVATE LIFE AT
SANDRINGHAM.**

CHAPTER XII

THE KING AND THE CRISIS

Christmas at Sandringham—King Edward's Interest in the Poor—The Council in January, 1910—A Memorial Service at Frogmore—Quiet Days at Windsor—The General Election—The King at Brighton—The New Parliament Meets—Opening by Edward VII—The Speech from the Throne—The Budget Again—A Dinner Party at Buckingham Palace—The King Visits President Fallières—The Stay at Biarritz—A Cruise in the Mediterranean—The King in Spain—A Slight Indisposition—Home Again—A "Week-End" at Sandringham—Affairs in the Houses of Parliament—The Deadlock over the Upper Chamber—Would the King Intervene?

THE Royal Proclamation "dissolving the present Parliament, and declaring the calling of another" was signed by the King in Council on the 11th of January, 1910. Christmas had been spent at Sandringham with the customary festivities. The King and Queen gave their annual ball to the Royal servants and assisted in dismantling the gift-laden Christmas tree. The King, it was reported, was in good health and spirits. A body of destitute unemployed in Southwark, to whom a sympathetic message sent by His Majesty to the Church Army had been read at a distribution of Christmas gifts, despatched to him a letter of thanks. The King had contributed to their relief. Lord Knollys wrote, expressing the sincere appreciation of the King and Queen, and conveyed "their Majesties' assurance that their thoughts are constantly with the distressed poor, who undergo so much suffering, and also that their interest in them remains unabated." On the breaking up of the Christmas house party the King paid a visit to Elveden Hall, the home of Lord and Lady Iveagh, where there was a gathering of his personal friends, and thereafter he spent some days at Brighton. Returning to Sandring-

ham, the King and Queen and other members of the Royal Family gathered at Windsor for the anniversary, on the 22nd of January, of the death of Queen Victoria. The country was then in the throes of a political upheaval. The General Election was in full swing. Unscrupulous politicians—a class comprising individuals from both parties as well as hosts of obscurities—were perverting the public mind with "terminological inexactitudes." The nation was in a fever of excitement. Far removed from the turmoil and vulgarity, their Majesties and the members of their family were assembled in the Royal Mausoleum, where a special service was held. Thus the King entered upon the tenth year of his beneficent reign. Later in the month His Majesty accompanied shooting parties in the Windsor coverts, and it was announced that "under medical advice" he would visit Biarritz in March in order to escape from the treacherous winds of the English spring. That was the first intimation that his health needed precautionary care. During the later phases of the election the King was again at Brighton as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Sassoon, and he took daily walks and drives along the front; and at Brighton

His Majesty remained until he returned to London in readiness for the State opening of the new Parliament.

The General Election, one of the most interesting and exciting since the Reform Act, was a disappointment for all parties. The Unionists had lost, but the Ministerial majority, which stood at 334 at the dissolution, was now only 124. The Unionists, who had numbered 168, were now 273. The Liberals were 275 instead of 373. The Labour group consisted of 40 instead of 46. The 82 Nationalists could make themselves masters of the situation by voting with the Opposition; but it was extremely unlikely that they would do that in a hurry, or that any Party would co-operate with them in bringing about a speedy downfall of the Government, for the funds of all Parties were depleted.

Thus the new

Parliament reflected with accuracy the state of public opinion. The Unionist party had had time to recover from the disaster of 1906. It had consolidated itself in outward unity on the question of Tariff Reform. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain had issued a joint manifesto in these terms: "Tariff Reform will not increase the cost of living to the working-classes, nor the proportion of taxation paid by them, but it will enable us to reduce the present taxes on articles of working-class consumption, and will lessen unemployment and develop our trade with the British Dominions beyond the seas." These assertions were equivalent to a pledge that no scheme of fiscal change would be brought forward which would have the effect of adding to the cost of living and the amount of taxation borne by the masses. On the faith of that



THE CHURCH ARMY AND THE POOR.

[Inset photograph: Prebendary J. C. Carlile.]

Photo. supplied by Church Army.

pledge Unionists who had voted Liberal in 1906, or had abstained, rejoined the Party. The extreme character of the financial and other proposals of the Government of 1906-1909 had driven many Liberals into the Opposition camp. A reaction against "Socialism" had set in. There was a widespread feeling that the Government had attempted too much and had gone too fast. The mass of moderate opinion, which is only nominally "Unionist" or "Liberal," hesitated about the future of the House of Lords and voted for safety. It shrank from pursuing the quarrel to extremities. The country gave no emphatic verdict for or against the Budget, for or against Tariff Reform, for or against the deprivation by statute of the power of veto which the House of Lords

had exercised. It sent to the House of Commons two Parties so exactly balanced in strength that the Ministry could continue in office only by the support and good-will of the Nationalist and Labour groups. But as each group was willing to vote for the abolition of the House of Lords and was prepared to support the Government in any curtailment of the powers of that House, the dominant fact was that Ministers had a working majority for the time being of 124.

The new Parliament met on the 15th of February for swearing in. The King was then at Brighton. Mr. Asquith was received in audience there on the 12th, and spent an hour with the King. There were rumours of unusual difficulties. His Majesty returned to London on the 15th



THE ESPLANADE, BRIGHTON.

Photo: Vaughan, Acton.

On the 18th there was a meeting of the Cabinet, and the Prime Minister had another audience with the Sovereign. The King had returned from Brighton "much benefited by the change," and he found himself fully occupied. On the 22nd the King opened the new Parliament—the third of his reign—in full State. Immense crowds gathered along the route from Buckingham Palace to Westminster and the King and Queen were lustily cheered. The King was in the uniform of a Field-Marshal, with the great coat. On his right, in the State coach, was Queen Alexandra, in her robes of State, and on her head a crown studded with diamonds. Within the House of Lords there was a great assemblage of robed Peers and Peeresses, the Judges, Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. Preceded by the great officers of State, bearing aloft the Sword of State, the Imperial Crown, and the Cap of Maintenance, the Sovereign, leading the Queen by the right hand, entered the House, ascended the steps of the Throne with the Queen and, Her Majesty being seated at the left of the Throne, turned and bowed to the standing throng. He wore a robe of magnificent crimson velvet, with an edging of gold, and a heavy mantle of ermine, borne by six youthful Pages of Honour in scarlet doublets and knee-breeches of white satin. The Queen was resplendant. The Crown glittered on her head, strings of beautiful pearls encircled her neck, and various Orders composed of sparkling gems completed her adornment.

Throwing back his robes as he took his seat, the King, in a clear voice, addressed the House: "My Lords, pray be seated!" Making a sign to the

Lord Great Chamberlain, His Majesty intimated his desire that the Commons should be sent for. Black Rod (Admiral Sir Henry Stephenson) was sent to summon them. Soon the silence was broken by the noise of many footsteps in the Lobby without, and Mr. Speaker appeared at the Bar and bowed low to the King, a great throng of Commons behind him, the Prime Minister, and other members of the Cabinet standing near the Speaker. The Three Estates of the Realm were now constituted—the Peers Spiritual, the Peers Temporal, and the Commons. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn, came before the Throne and knelt there, presenting a paper. It was the King's Speech. Putting on his Field-Marshal's hat and remaining seated, the King read it to the House. His voice was full and resonant. Every syllable was clearly articulated. The silence was intense. Every mind was strained to the closest attention, waiting for the fateful paragraph on the crisis in the Constitution. It was in the following terms:

"Recent experience has disclosed serious difficulties, due to recurring differences of strong opinion between the two branches of the Legislature.

"Proposals will be laid before you, with all convenient speed, to define the relations between the Houses of Parliament, so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons over Finance, and its predominance in Legislation. These measures, in the opinion of My advisers, should provide that this House should be so constituted and empowered as to exercise impartially, in regard to proposed legislation, the functions of initiation, revision, and, subject to proper safeguards, of delay.



KING EDWARD AND HIS SON (NOW KING GEORGE V.).

Photo : Russell.

What was the personal share of Edward VII. in the policy thus formulated? The paragraph, it will be observed, is drafted with consummate skill. The style is Mr. Asquith's, not King Edward's. Between the State pronouncement of the Sovereign and his personal utterances on matters outside the region of high policy there is ever a noticeable difference. In the one there is literary art; in the other an artless disregard of form. It is a convention of political writing that Speeches from the Throne are speeches framed for the Sovereign. How far that may be literally true in this case the Prime Minister alone can tell; but whether the paragraph was the joint product of two minds and pens, or whether Mr. Asquith alone produced it and the King merely assented, Edward VII. none the less made himself responsible as Sovereign for such constitutional change as would establish henceforth the undivided authority of the House of Commons over finance and the predominance of the House of Commons in legislation. By giving his assent to the quoted words and pronouncing them before the three Estates of the Realm, King Edward gave the force of his kingly authority to a view of the relations between the two Houses which declared judgment against the use which the House of Lords had made of its powers and laid upon Parliament a command that those powers should be so modified that finance should be excluded from the purview of the Upper House, and that the final and determining word in other legislation should rest with the Commons. The King, in fact, defined the place of the House of Lords in the Constitution; and he required such things to be done as would prevent its

re-entry into the region of finance and a partisan exercise of its powers in general legislation. On the other hand he had upheld the principle of a Second Chamber. The bicameral system was to continue. But the House of Lords was to be so constituted and empowered that the exercise of its functions in the initiation and revision of legislation would be impartial. The Sovereign had taken his stand with those who demanded constitutional change and against those who resisted it; and he had laid down the principles and limitation of the change. This was probably his most important act as Sovereign. The consequences of it cannot yet be measured. Not until those consequences have run their course will men see how significant it was or be able to adjudge King Edward's true rank and place among the Sovereigns whose acts have initiated the successive stages of constitutional change and growth.

The work before the new Parliament was to make provision for the financial proposals of the nation and to curtail the powers of the House of Lords. The rejected Budget of 1909-10 was reintroduced and again sent to the Lords. On the 22nd of March the Prime Minister gave notice that he would move that the House resolve itself into a Committee to consider the relations between the two Houses of Parliament and the extent of the duration of Parliament, and there appeared on the Order Paper three resolutions to be proposed by him in Committee. They were in these terms:

MONEY BILLS

(1) That it is expedient that the House of Lords be disabled by law from rejecting or amending a Money Bill, but that any such limitation by law shall not be taken

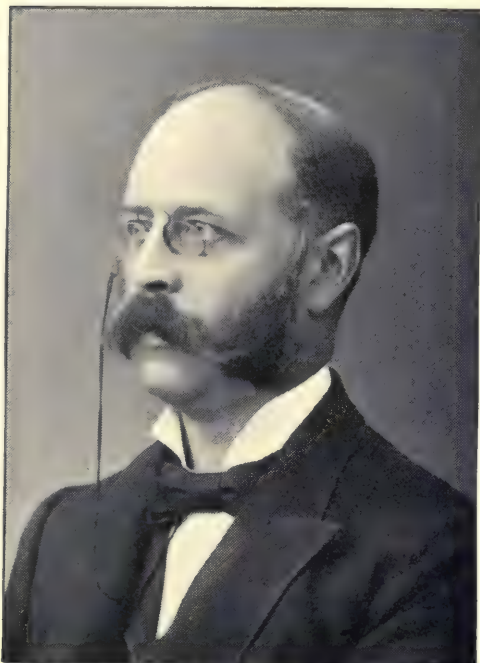


Photo: Neurden, Paris.

BIARRITZ—THE GRANDE PLAGE AND THE CASINO.

to diminish or qualify the existing rights and privileges of the House of Commons.

For the purpose of this resolution, a Bill shall be considered a Money Bill if in the opinion of the Speaker it contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely: The imposition, repeal, remission, alteration,



SIR JAMES REID.

Photo: Russell.

or regulation of taxation: charges on the Consolidated Fund or the provision of money by Parliament: Supply: the appropriation, control, or regulation of public money: the raising or guarantee of any loan, or the repayment thereof: or matters incidental to those subjects or any of them.

BILLS OTHER THAN MONEY BILLS

(2) That it is expedient that the powers of the House of Lords, as respects Bills

other than Money Bills, be restricted by law, so that any such Bill, which has passed the House of Commons in three successive Sessions and, having been sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the Session, has been rejected by that House in each of those Sessions, shall become law without the consent of the House of Lords, on the Royal Assent being declared: Provided that at least two years shall have elapsed between the date of the first introduction of the Bill in the House of Commons and the date on which it passes the House of Commons for the third time.

For the purpose of this resolution a Bill shall be treated as rejected by the House of Lords if it has not been passed by the House of Lords either without amendment or with such amendments only as may be agreed upon by both Houses.

DURATION OF PARLIAMENT

(3) That it is expedient to limit the duration of Parliament to five years.

King Edward had gone to Biarritz on the 6th of March, travelling as the Duke of Lancaster, and attended by Sir James Reid, his Physician in Ordinary, and a couple of equerries. He was then enjoying normal health and the stay in the south was made solely to escape the rigours of an English spring. The King had been unusually busy just before his departure. On Friday, the 4th, the King and Queen held a Court at Buckingham Palace which was largely attended, and at which many presentations were made. On Saturday His Majesty held a Council at noon, and, among other business, pricked the list of sheriffs for the year. After the Council the King had a long conversation with the Prime Minister, who probably sub-

mitted the resolutions given above and acquainted His Majesty with his intentions as to the management of the business of the Session during the ensuing weeks. In the evening the King gave a dinner party at the Palace to a distinguished company of noblemen and gentlemen of both Parties, and of eminence in other walks of life than politics. On the Sunday morning the King and Queen and the Princess Victoria were present at Divine service in the private chapel. At luncheon there was a family party, and in the evening the Prince and Princess of Wales dined with the King and Queen. After dinner the King took train for Dover, the Prince of Wales seeing him off. The Queen remained in town at Buckingham Palace. Two days were spent in Paris. On the first "the Duke of Lancaster" paid a visit to the studio of M. Detaille, who was painting a great canvas depicting the King presenting colours to the Territorial Army, and in the evening he went to the theatre and witnessed M. Rostand's play *Chantecler*. The second day was spent in visiting M. Fallières at the Élysée, and in receiving the return visit of the President. The King lunched with Madame Waddington—widow of a former French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's and the writer of a charming volume of reminiscences of her life in London—at her residence in the Rue Auguste Vacquerie, and after dinner at his hotel went to the theatre and saw M. Henry Bataille's new play, *La Vierge Folle*. He was seen off from Paris the next morning by the French Foreign Minister, M. Pichon, and members of the Presidential Household, and on his arrival at Biarritz at night was received by the Mayor, to whom he said that he was delighted to

be back once more in a country he loved so much and where every year he found renewed health. The next day was the forty-seventh anniversary of his wedding. The King, it appeared, had caught a slight cold, but he took daily walks and motor drives, and entertained friends to luncheon and dinner parties, and the



Photo : Nadar, Paris
PRESIDENT FALLIÈRES.

indisposition passed. But during a spell of inclement weather his activities lessened, and early in April he spent some days in his rooms. With the recurrence of good weather he reappeared and went about a great deal, and it was reported that his health had again become perfectly satisfactory.

The Queen meanwhile had gone to Sandringham with Princess Victoria and had arranged for a cruise in the Mediterranean, it being understood that

the King might travel to a convenient point and take a short cruise with them. The Royal yacht was sent on to Genoa, and on the 14th of April the Queen and her daughter left London for Italy, and there embarked for Corfu, where they were the guests of the King and Queen of the Hellenes. King Edward, meanwhile, favoured by beautiful weather, went about

and on the return to Pau he stopped at Lourdes and revisited the grotto of the Basilica and the Church of the Rosary, which he had been over as a young man. During his stay in the town he witnessed—uncovered—a procession of pilgrims and had a conversation with Bishop Schöpfer of Tarbes. Returning to Pau in the evening, the King dined with friends



TWO UNCONVENTIONAL TEA-PARTY PHOTOGRAPHS SHOWING PRINCE GEORGE
AND KING EDWARD VII.

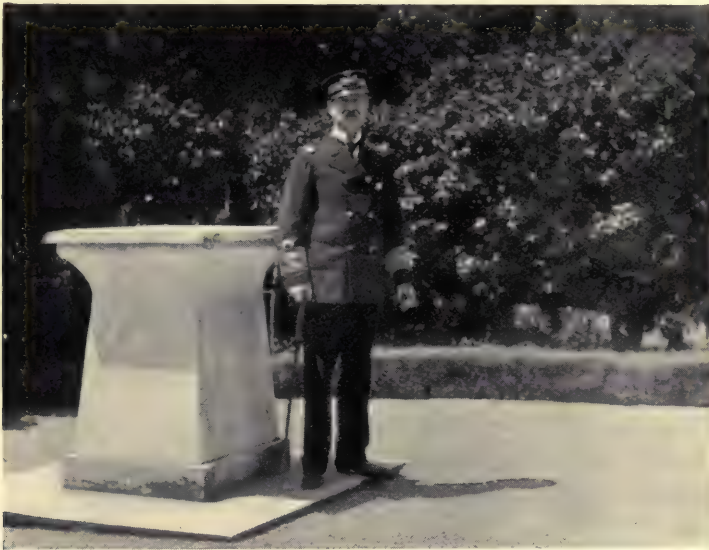
Snapshots by Queen Alexandra.

freely and made several motor excursions across the frontier into Spain, and on one of these selected a site, at Vira, for a monument to the memory of the officers of the Rifle Brigade who lost their lives in Wellington's campaign of 1814. On the 20th and 21st of April His Majesty was at Pau, in a suite of rooms in an hotel commanding a view of the Pyrenean chain and the valley of the Gave. While at Pau he made an excursion by motor to Cauterets through the valley of Argelès,

and, from the windows of his hotel, was the spectator of airship evolutions. Apparently all was well. On each of his many excursions the King was accompanied by his physician, Sir James Reid, but no unfavourable inference could be drawn from that fact. On the 21st of April, however, while the Queen was still at Corfu, it was announced that the King would return to London in a few days from Biarritz, making no stops on the way, and not passing through Paris,

where he had hoped to make a short stay. Returning to Biarritz early in the afternoon of the 22nd the King played a game of croquet on the golf links. On the following day he visited the cemeteries where are interred the remains of the British officers who fell during the siege of Bayonne, and inspected the monument to the memory of the French soldiers who

across the Channel, arrived at Victoria station, to all appearances in good health. He was met by the Prince of Wales and Prince Arthur of Connaught and the Prime Minister, and the Home Secretary also awaited him. His Majesty was warmly welcomed by the crowds in the neighbourhood of the station, and it was a subject of general remark that he was



KING GEORGE OF GREECE.
Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

fell during the fighting of 1814. The next day was a Sunday. On Monday, the 25th, the King went about as usual, and in the evening gave a farewell dinner party and attended an illuminated fête in his honour. He left Biarritz on the night of the 26th, and in reply to the Mayor of the city, who wished him farewell on behalf of the inhabitants, he expressed satisfaction with the effect his stay had had upon his health. On the afternoon of the 27th of April the King, after a comfortable journey and a smooth passage

looking very well and much pleased to be home again. The fact that in the early part of his stay at Biarritz he had found it prudent to keep to his rooms had caused some anxiety at the time; but that he had made a perfect recovery from that indisposition was inferred from the circumstances that after dinner the King, with the Prince and Princess of Wales, Prince Edward and Prince Albert of Wales, and Prince Arthur of Connaught, appeared in the Royal box at Covent Garden and sat through a performance of *Rigoletto*. His



THE OLD VICTORY SALUTING THE ROYAL YACHT.

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

Majesty followed the opera with his usual appreciative attention.

On the following morning—Thursday, the 28th—it was announced that the King would go to Sandringham for the weekend and would return to London on the Monday evening, the 2nd of May. Certain improvements were being made in the estate, and he wished to see how they had progressed during his holiday. On the Thursday morning the Prime Minister had an audience with the King, at Buckingham Palace, which lasted about half an hour; and Mr. Asquith was followed by Lord Kitchener, who was received on the relinquishment of his appointment as Commander-in-Chief in India, and was given his Field-Marshal's bâton. After luncheon the King visited the Royal Academy, which was to be opened to the public on the following Monday, and spent an hour and a half there, the Prince

and Princess of Wales and other members of the Royal Family joining him. The Royal visitors were received by the President, Sir E. J. Poynter, and the Council, and the King made a careful inspection of the pictures. It will be remembered that there were some of special interest to the Royal Family—Sir E. J. Poynter's portrait of the King seated and in his Garter robes; Mr. Mordecai's full-length portrait study, and one or two other pictures in which Royal personages figured. After dinner the King went to the opera. Meanwhile the Queen and Princess Victoria were announced to leave Corfu on the Monday for Venice, and to journey home overland, arriving in London on the afternoon of the 5th of May. On Friday morning, the 29th of April, the King drove to St. Pancras and took train for Sandringham. On that morning Parliament adjourned for a

"spring recess." Mr. Asquith had left overnight with Mr. McKenna, on the Admiralty yacht *Enchantress*, for a holiday visit of inspection at Gibraltar and Malta.

To what political situation did the King return? While His Majesty was travelling to Sandringham the Lords had passed the Budget. There had been much wrangling in the political world as to whether the Budget should have precedence over the Veto Resolutions and the Veto Bill founded upon them; and there had been an attempt to force Mr. Asquith to act up to the strict letter of a pre-election pledge that he and his colleagues would not consent to hold office without guarantees from the Crown. An attempt was also made by the Nationalist and Labour Parties to compel him to proceed with the Veto first, but Mr.

Asquith went his own way, regardless of whether these elements in his majority cared to terminate the existence of the Government. They had, in fact, no real power to do so, for it became apparent that the Unionist Opposition were averse to another General Election at an early date, and in a crisis would vote with the Government. But the situation had been perilous and there were moments when it had seemed that the life of the Government was not worth a week's purchase. Into that, however, we cannot enter. The fact will suffice that Mr. Lloyd George's Budget was again passed by the Commons under stringent time-limit rules, and that the House of Lords then accepted it without demur and with becoming dignity. The conflict between the two Houses on that specific Budget had therefore ended; but as to the future

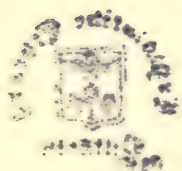


THE ENCHANTRESS.

Photo: West, Southsea.



QUEEN MARY.
From the Drawing by D. Macpherson.



relations of the two Houses a furious controversy had raged in Parliament and in the country during the King's absence in the south of France. We have already given the text of the veto resolutions submitted by the Government. These were the theme of debates of great interest and power, in which the controversial advantage lay with the assailants of the House of Lords. The line taken by its defenders among the Opposition was that though the House of Lords was susceptible of reform as to its composition, there was no case for curtailment of its powers, and that the Government plan was equivalent to the setting up of a single-chamber system. The controversy was complicated by debates in the House of Lords on resolutions submitted by Lord Rosebery, who, on the 14th of March, moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee to consider the best means of reforming its existing organisation, so as to constitute a strong and efficient Second Chamber. He gave notice to move the following resolutions:

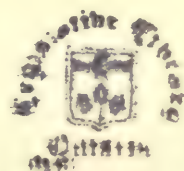
(1) That a strong and efficient Second Chamber is not merely an integral part of the British Constitution, but is necessary to the well-being of the State and to the balance of Parliament.

(2) That such a Chamber can best be obtained by reform and reconstitution of the House of Lords.

(3) That a necessary preliminary of such reform and reconstitution is the acceptance of the principle that the possession of a peerage should no longer of itself give the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords.

After a debate of sustained power and brilliancy the House resolved, without a

division, to go into Committee and consider these three resolutions in detail. The situation, therefore, was that the Conservative majority was not unwilling to consider the reconstitution of the House of Lords with the object of strengthening the authority of that House, but left aside the vital question of the definition and curtailment of the powers of that House; whereas the Government proposals did not touch the internal constitution of the House and were concerned solely with the limitation of its powers. Lord Rosebery's resolutions were exhaustively debated in Committee of the House of Lords. We cannot here traverse the ground covered by speakers in either House. We are describing a political situation at the time of King Edward's return from Biarritz on the 27th of April, and the adjournment of Parliament on the 29th for a "spring recess," not entering into the pros and cons of the constitutional issue or giving a narrative of the strategy of the rival majorities in both Houses. The scope of this chapter being thus limited, all that it is necessary to say to make the political situation clear is that Lord Rosebery's resolutions were accepted by majorities of the House of Lords. The discussion then ended in that House—the date, the 22nd of March. But Lord Rosebery had undertaken to issue further resolutions setting out constructive principles of Reform. These appeared on the paper of the House of Lords on the 13th of April, by which time the House of Commons was concluding the debate on the Prime Minister's proposals as already set forth. These further resolutions of Lord Rosebery—two in number—were in the following terms:



(1) That in future the House of Lords shall consist of Lords of Parliament—

(a) Chosen by the whole body of hereditary peers from among themselves, and by nomination by the Crown ;

(b) Sitting by virtue of offices and of qualifications held by them ;

(c) Chosen from outside.

(2) That the term of tenure of all Lords of Parliament shall be the same, except in the case of those who sit *ex officio*, who would sit so long as they hold office for which they sit.

On the 14th of April the House of Commons concluded its debates on the three resolutions proposed by the Prime Minister, and passed them on Report stage by majorities of—for the first resolution, 98, the second 103, and the third, 103. The Bill to give effect to them was then introduced by Mr. Asquith, who thereafter announced that the Government would appeal to the Crown to overrule the opposition of the House of Lords to the Bill. The passing of the principle of these resolutions into law by means of a statutory enactment was a condition not only of the usefulness of the Government, but of the effective existence of the Government. Before the General Election he had announced that it would be useless for the Government to prolong their existence unless they could secure the safeguards which experience had shown to be necessary for the fulfilment of their legislative efforts. The resolutions provided those safeguards. Until they became law no legislation could be undertaken without the risk of futility, even of ridicule. "It is for these reasons and on behalf of the Government that I think it not only convenient but necessary to give notice to

the House and to the country, now that these resolutions are passing into the control of other people, of our future intentions. If the Lords fail to accept our policy, or decline to consider it when it is formally presented to the House, we shall feel it our duty immediately to tender advice to the Crown as to the steps which will have to be taken if that policy is to receive statutory effect in this Parliament. What the precise terms of that advice will be it will, of course, not be right for me to say now ; but if we do not find ourselves in a position to ensure that statutory effect will be given to this policy in this Parliament, we shall then either resign our offices or recommend a dissolution of Parliament. And let me add this : that in no case would we recommend dissolution except under such conditions as will secure that in the new Parliament the judgment of the people as expressed in the election will be carried into law."

That was the situation which confronted the King on his return from Biarritz. What did it mean in practice ? It meant that if the Veto Bill, after passing the House of Commons, as it certainly would pass, was thrown out by the House of Lords, as it almost certainly would be, Mr. Asquith would ask the King to create a sufficient number of Peers to outvote the Conservative majority in the House of Lords. In no other way could statutory effect be given to the Bill in the lifetime of the existing Parliament. It meant, also, that if the King declined to act on the advice to create these new Peers, the Government would thereupon resign or advise the Sovereign to dissolve Parliament ; but—and the qualification is all important—in no case would they advise a dissolution, except under guaran-

tees from the Crown that in the event of their return to power, it should be under such conditions that the Bill could be carried into law despite the Conservative majority in the Lords. Here, indeed, was a crisis of the utmost gravity. Mr. Asquith was in power with an adequate working majority. He had made up his mind to stake his fortunes and those of the Coalition upon the elimination of finance from the purview of the House of Lords and on the abolition of its power of veto on other legislation. He was in a position to enforce his claim if the country continued to give him a majority. By resigning office he could throw upon his opponents the impossible task of carrying on the business of the country. Even if

a stop-gap Ministry could be formed, it would come to grief the first time it made application to the Commons for a money vote. The King could then have no other course open to him than that of dissolving Parliament, on the chance that the country would return a working majority averse to Mr. Asquith's avowed policy.

This was the quandary in which Edward VII. had been placed by the Peers' successive rejection of Liberal legislative proposals, by Mr. Asquith's determination that, come what might, the Peers should henceforth have no voice in finance and

no final and overriding power in preventing legislation from reaching the Throne. An immense responsibility was thrust upon the King. How would he meet it? In what way would he handle it? What would be his decision? Would he create new Peers? That would be tantamount to the destruction of the House of Lords. Whatever moral authority was left to it would disappear. And if he refused to create them, and if, after another General Election, the country returned



THE PRINCESS OF WALES (NOW QUEEN MARY).

Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

the Liberals again to power—what then? It would be historically incorrect to say that never had an English Sovereign been in so serious a difficulty, for there were precedents for the course Mr. Asquith had announced that he would take; but it is accurate to write, having regard to the prospective character of English legislation and the war of classes

upon which the country seemed to have entered, or to be about to enter, that the decision of the King, whatever it might be, would open an era of strife the end of which no man could foresee. That decision was never given. The

long audience between King Edward and the Prime Minister on the morning of Thursday, the 28th of April, was the last King Edward gave to Mr. Asquith. Shortly before midnight on Friday, the 6th of May, His Majesty the King was dead.



"LITTLE DAVID" (NOW PRINCE OF WALES).
Photographed by Queen Alexandra.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PASSING OF EDWARD VII.

The King at Sandringham in May, 1910—Bad Weather—Back in London—Good Health and Cheerful Spirits—Dealing with Affairs of State—The King Remains Indoors—In the Doctor's Hands—Premonitions of Illness—A Disturbing Announcement—The First Bulletin—The Royal Family Hastily Gathers—The King's Condition Becomes Critical—Death of Edward VII.—The Lying-in-State at Westminster—Incidents of the Funeral—The Processions in London and Windsor—The Service in St. George's Chapel—The Resting-place of Kings.

EDWARD VII. returned to London from Sandringham on the afternoon of Monday, the 2nd of May. A heavy and depressing gloom prevailed. Not a ray of sunshine had broken the dull and lowering skies that enveloped the capital. The blustering winds and driving rains of an inclement spring had ceased and there had been a rise of temperature. The still air, laden with smoke and humidity, was of the hue and density of impending night in autumn, when the dull grey mists from the Essex marshes creep slowly westwards to the City. The only news of the King in the morning papers was that, with the gentlemen-in-waiting, he had attended Divine service in Sandringham church, and, in the evening, had had the company of his chaplain-in-ordinary—the Rev. S. Percival Farrar—and two other clergymen at dinner. The arrival at St. Pancras Station was unnoticed, save by those who awaited the ordinary express to which the Royal saloon was attached. The King appeared to be in good health and responded with his usual cheerfulness to the salutations of those who watched him pass to his motor car and drive from the station. He reached Buckingham Palace at half-past six and did not go out again that night. Queen Alexandra and

the Princess Victoria were due to arrive in London from Corfu on the afternoon of Thursday, the 5th. On the Tuesday the King remained within the Palace, his time chiefly occupied by duties of State. In the morning he was visited by the Prince of Wales and by Prince Arthur of Connaught. Thereafter he received Dr. Pollock, the newly appointed Bishop of Norwich, who was introduced by the Home Secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill, and took the oath and did homage in accordance with law and usage. His Majesty also received Sir Assheton Gore Curzon-Howe and Vice-Admiral Sir Hedworth Lambton on their relinquishment of certain naval appointments. At luncheon the King had the company of the Grand Duke Michael Michailovitch. That was the record for the day. The weather had again become wet and cold and stormy. That the King did not go out driving or visit a theatre caused no comment. Nor did the scantiness of Wednesday's record in the Court Circular. The Prince of Wales paid his customary morning visit to his father. An audience was given to Lieut-Col. Newton J. Moore, the Premier of Western Australia, who was on a visit to this country, and to Admiral Sir S. Poë upon his appointment as Commander-in-Chief in the Mediter-

anean. Again the King did not go out. Nor did he pass from the suite of rooms overlooking the grounds to the west of the Palace. As a matter of fact he was in the doctor's hands, and was far from well.

The first knowledge the public had that anything untoward had occurred was at five o'clock on Thursday, on the arrival of Queen Alexandra and the Princess Victoria. The King was not there to meet them. They were received by the Prince and Princess of Wales and their children, and it was observed that, with the least possible delay, the Royal party left the station. Soon after their arrival at the Palace an official announcement was issued to the Press in these terms :

"His Majesty the King is suffering from a severe bronchial attack and has been confined to his room for the last two days."

Within a few minutes the evening papers were out, the placards bearing the ominous words, "Serious illness of the King." It was a wild and stormy night, but the wind and rain did not prevent the gathering of a silent throng before the gates of the Palace, awaiting the issue of a bulletin. This was posted up at eight o'clock, and read :—

"The King is suffering from an attack of bronchitis, and has been confined to his room for two days.

"His Majesty's condition causes some anxiety.

"F. H. LAKING, M.D.

"JAMES REID, M.D.

"R. DOUGLAS POWELL, M.D."

The omission of the word "serious" was deemed to be favourable, and alarm subsided when the Court Circular came out and showed that in the morning of

that day the King had discharged his ordinary duties. He had given audience to Lord Islington—Sir John Dickson-Poynder—on his appointment to the Governorship of New Zealand, and had also received Major T. B. Robinson, the Agent-General for Queensland, who presented to the King a gold-mounted inkstand as a souvenir from the State. At eleven o'clock on Friday morning a bulletin was issued which almost banished hope :—

"The King has passed a comparatively quiet night, but the symptoms have not improved, and His Majesty's condition gives rise to grave anxiety."

This was signed by five physicians, two specialists—Dr. Bertrand Dawson and Dr. St. Clair Thomson—having been called in during the morning. Within the Palace every member of the Royal Family who had been able to reach London had gathered. They were waiting for the hour of death. At half-past six o'clock the nation was prepared for the worst by the issue of a bulletin :—

"The King's symptoms have become worse during the day, and His Majesty's condition is now critical."

The rain beat down upon the Palace under a driving wind from the north-east, and the crowd lingered there, though assured by the Palace officials that no further bulletin would be issued till the morning. When the theatres emptied it was largely reinforced, and then shrank again when nothing could be learned. But some remained. Half an hour after midnight a closed carriage emerged from the courtyard conveying the Prince and Princess of Wales from the Palace. Thereupon a member of the Household came out to the gates, and in a low tone spoke the words : "The King is dead."

The official announcement had been telegraphed from within the Palace in these terms:—

"Buckingham Palace,

"May 6th, 1910, 11.50 p.m.

"His Majesty the King breathed his last at 11.45 to-night in the presence of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Princess Royal (Duchess of Fife), the Princess Victoria, and Princess Louise (Duchess of Argyll).

"F. H. LAKING, M.D.

"JAMES REID, M.D.

"DOUGLAS POWELL, M.D.

"BERTRAND DAWSON, M.D."

The reign had ended. A new reign had begun.

The grief of the nation was profound. That these are no conventional words will be attested by the personal experience and knowledge of every reader. It is a plain statement of historical fact. The nation and the Empire knew that it had lost a King who had loved his people and served them with singleness of heart and purpose. We shall write no eulogy, pay no tribute to the qualities that endeared him to his subjects. The eulogy is in the warp and woof of our account of the work he did and in the influence that he



Photo: Illustrations Bureau.

THE BODY OF KING EDWARD VII. LYING IN STATE AT WESTMINSTER
HALL, LONDON,

exercised in affairs. The work stands and the influence is not spent. It is an abiding force in our national life.

From the bed-chamber where he expired, the body of King Edward was removed to the Throne Room of the Palace, and there lay in State. On the 17th of May it was borne from the Palace to Westminster Hall through vast throngs of silent mourners, the new Sovereign following on foot with his two young sons, and behind them the English and foreign Princes of the Blood Royal. Within the ancient Hall the members of the two Houses of Parliament, whose dramatic conflict had been swept into the background by the hand of Death, awaited the arrival of the body. Heralded by the strains of the Funeral March, the coffin, wrapped in the Royal Standard, was borne to the catafalque. The widowed Queen, leaning on the arm of her sister, the Dowager Empress of Russia, and followed by Queen Mary, took her place at the bier, as did the new Sovereign and his sons and the throng of uniformed Kings and Princes. A service was held. Strong and clear and confident was the voice of the Dean of Westminster—Dr. Armitage Robinson—as he read out the words of St. John :

“Verily, verily, I say unto you the hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God : and they that hear shall live.”

An anthem was sung—Spohr’s imperishable setting of the words :

“Blest are the departed who in the Lord are sleeping from henceforth for evermore : they rest from their labours and their works do follow them.”

The Archbishop of Canterbury addressed the mourners :—

“Brothers, the Sovereign whom his Empire and the world delighted to honour is suddenly taken from our head, and perhaps we find it difficult to fix in our thoughts the significance of these memorable days, the lesson of this scene for us and the multitudes who will throng to look upon it.

“Here in the great Hall of English history we stand in the presence of Death. But Death is to us Christians swallowed up in a larger life. Our common sorrow reminds us of our common hope. It is a call to thanksgiving and to praise.

“We thank God for the ruler devoted to the service of his people. We thank God for the peace and prosperity that have marked King Edward’s reign. We thank God for teaching us to see His hand in the story of our nation’s well-being.

“We pray God that as we are united by this great sorrow we may be united for the tasks which lie before us, for the fight against all that is unworthy of our calling as the Christian inheritors of a great Empire, the fight against selfishness, and impurity, and greed, the fight against the spirit that is callous or profane.

“Let us pledge ourselves afresh from this solemn hour to a deliberate and unswerving effort as Christian folk to set forward what is true and just, what is lovely and of good report, in the daily life, both public and private, of a people to whom much is given and of whom much will be required.”

The service over, the widowed Queen and her son knelt in prayer on the steps of the catafalque. Passing from the Hall, she left the body of her beloved with the people. There it remained guarded by gentlemen-at-arms, for three days, many thousands of men and women of



Photo: Illustrations Bureau.

THE FUNERAL OF KING EDWARD VII. PASSING BY HYDE PARK.



Photo: Illustrations Bureau.

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION IN THE GROUNDS AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

every station of life filing past the coffin in reverence and in sorrow. On the morning of Friday, the 20th, the remains were placed on a gun-carriage and taken to Paddington Station for interment in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. No nobler military funeral had ever been given to a Sovereign of England; but more remarkable still than the splendour and impressiveness of the spectacle were the numbers and demeanour of the multitude. The coffin passed before eyes dimmed with tears. The procession of Kings and Princes was unheeded. The gun-carriage and its burden were alone seen. On that alone all thoughts were centred—and yet not quite on that alone. To Queen Alexandra all hearts were turned. She bore herself with queenly

grace and fortitude. At Windsor the scenes of London were repeated. Within St. George's Chapel were members of the Royal Family, the leaders of the life of England, Rulers and Princes, and representatives of every State in the world. There the body was lowered to the vault, after a service of great beauty and profound spiritual significance. The King's favourite hymn was sung—"My God, my Father, while I stray"—and the service ended with the pronouncement by Garter King-of-Arms of the styles of the dead and of the living Sovereigns:—

"Thus it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life unto His divine mercy the late most high, mighty, and most excellent monarch Edward VII., by the grace of God of the

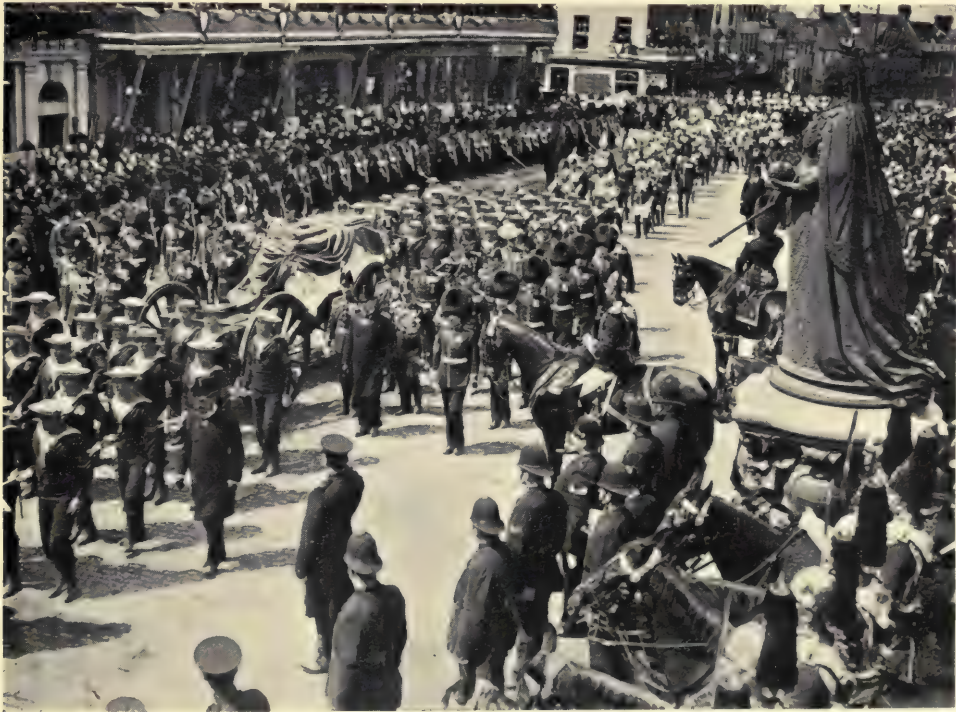
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British dominions beyond the seas, King, defender of the faith, Emperor of India, and Sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter.

"Let us beseech Almighty God to bless with long life, health, and honour, and all worldly happiness the Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch our Sovereign lord George, now by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British dominions beyond the seas, King, defender of the faith, Emperor of India, and Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. God Save the King!"

"Long life, health, and honour" King Edward had. Health and life are the gifts of God. A man's honour, be he

Sovereign or subject, none but himself can add to or diminish.

Though the reign of Edward VII. was short its importance was great. The constitutional struggle in which it terminated would of itself give it a prominent place in modern history. What makes the reign of Edward VII., short as it was, different from, and even more notable than, that of Victoria is that a constitutional change was initiated not alone for the sake of change but preliminary to the carrying out of policies for the benefit of the proletariat, mainly at the cost of the plutocracy and the wealthy remnant of the landed aristocracy. None can foresee the consequences that may flow in the legislative readjustment of social conditions, in the appropriation of wealth by



THE PROCESSION AT WINDSOR.



Photo: Illustrations Bureau.

EUROPEAN KINGS IN THE PROCESSION AT WINDSOR.



Photo: Illustrations Bureau.

THE COFFIN BEING CARRIED INTO ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

the State in order to carry out that readjustment, and in the use to which the power of taxation may be put by the majority who have little against the minority who have more than enough.

The next remarkable feature of King Edward's reign is the progress made in

There has been a miraculous acceptance in all parts of the Empire, outside India, of the conception of unity and the co-ordination of resources for the advantage of the Empire as a whole. The change itself began in King Edward's early manhood, but it



KING GEORGE V. PROCLAIMED IN LONDON.

Photo : Topical.

the consolidation of the Empire and the growth of Imperialist sentiment in England and in the over-sea Dominions. During the first decade of the twentieth century a consciousness of unity and interdependence and a recognition of the necessity of overhauling the Imperial system in such ways as may preserve and strengthen that unity have become almost universal among the white subjects of the Crown.

received no notable impulse until he succeeded to the Throne.

In foreign policy there has been a change wholly to the good, so far as events have developed. There is a new grouping of the Powers, with what consequences time alone can reveal. At the beginning of the reign England was the target for the hostility of Europe. With all the Powers of the world she is on terms of



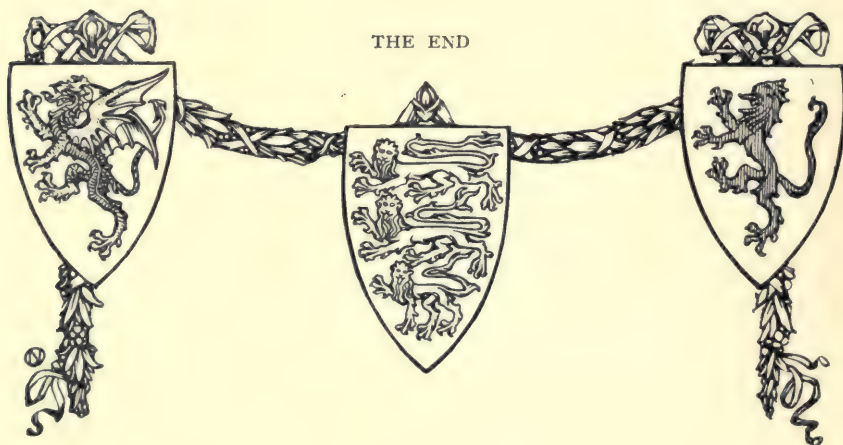
Photo: Dinham, Torquay

THE KING, THE QUEEN, AND THE PRINCE OF
WALES.

friendship, with most of very cordial friendship ; with some in definite alliance. But on this it would be folly to speculate. The crucial fact of foreign politics is that the peace of Europe is kept by the maintenance of four millions or more armed men, and that the world resounds with the din of hammers in the shipbuilding yards. Year by year more numerous and powerful fleets steam over the seas. Year by year Ministers of Finance in all countries raise their demands. The insensate competition of nations in fleets and armies goes on to the inevitable end of war or universal bankruptcy.

Of the progress of the nation in science,

the arts, in literature, in general welfare, little can be said. The reign was too short for any such survey. We leave the theme to the writer of "The Life and Times of George V.," and with the expression of a hope that it may be his lot to record a reign with a Jubilee and a Diamond Jubilee—a reign of glorious achievement, of unbroken peace ; a reign in which the statesmanship of King and Parliament will have devised means of peopling the empty lands of this wondrous Empire, and of so organising our Imperial and social life that the humblest citizen may eat the bread he earns in security, in comfort, and in contentment.



INDEX

A

- Abdul Aziz, Sultan of Turkey, ii. 65
 Abdul Hamid, and the Bulgarian atrocities, ii. 110, 148
 Abdullah, the Khalifa, iii. 131; flight and death of, 136
 Abdurrahman Khan, Ameer, iii. 163; v. 71
 Abu Klea, battle of, iii. 121
 Abyssinia, war with the Mahdi, iii. 131, 138; dethronement of Ras Ali, 139
 Acland, Sir W. H., i. 211
 Adelaide, George V. at, iv. 48
 Adrianople, iii. 156
 "Adullam, the cave of," iii. 154
Æternis Patris Bull, ii. 204
 Afghan War, close of the first, i. 185; the third, iii. 161-2
 Afghanistan and Russia, v. 70
 Africa, European scramble for, iii. 143
 Africa, Northern, Great Britain and, v. 50
 Africa, South, early days of, i. 173; the war in, iii. 237 (*see* BOER WAR, THE GREAT); proclamation of peace, iv. 63; visit of George V. to, 49; history of, 107; union of, 108, v. 134; and the coloured population, 137
 Africa, West, concessions to France, iii. 48
 African explorers, iii. 142
 Agnew, Mr. Vans, murdered by Sikhs, i. 193
 Agra, royal visit to, iii. 38
 Agriculture, Edward VII. and, ii. 123, 129; department of, established in Ireland, iv. 180
 Akbar Khan, i. 186
Alabama question, the, ii. 232
 Alaskan boundary dispute, the, iv. 224, 228
 Albany, Duke of (*see* LEOPOLD, PRINCE)
 Albany, Western Australia, George V. at, iv. 48
 Albert Hall, the Royal, opening of, ii. 163
 Albert, Prince Consort, as musician, i. 9; visits England, i. 30, 34; reasons of his unpopularity, 140, ii. 22-4; illness and death, 14-20; his character, 21; funeral, 25; interment at Frogmore, 75; his income from the nation, 78
 Albert Victor, Prince, birth of, ii. 141
 Aldershot, Coronation review at, iv. 68
 Alexander II., Czar, iii. 174; visit to England, 204; assassination of, 204
 Alexander III., Czar, iii. 208
 Alexander, Prince, birth and death of, ii. 147
 Alexander, Prince of Bulgaria, iii. 163
 Alexandra, Queen, ii. 5; her early years, 10; meeting with Edward VII., 13; engagement to Edward VII. (as Prince of Wales) officially announced, 73; leaves Copenhagen for England, 79; reception at Gravesend, 81; in London, 82; at Windsor, 85; Tennyson's *Ode* to, 86; the wedding, 87; her dairy, 124; births of her children, 141, 144, 146, 147; her visit to Norway, v. 210; tour in the Mediterranean, 219; return home, 230 (*see also* EDWARD VII.)
 Alexandria, riots at, iii. 211
 Alexinatz, battle of, iii. 149
 Alfonso XIII., King of Spain, attempted assassination of, in Paris, v. 100
 Alfred, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, death of, iii. 238
 Alfred, Prince, Duke of Edinburgh, offered the crown of Greece, ii. 65, 157
 Algeciras conference, the, v. 101
 Algiers, v. 48; Edward VII. at, 98
 Alice, Princess, marriage of, ii. 32; 73; financial embarrassments of, 153; death, iii. 192
 Aliwal, battle of, i. 191
 Alix, Princess, v. 64; marriage to Nicholas II. of Russia, 65
 Alsace and Lorraine, cession of, ii. 218, 221
 Alverstone, Lord, iii. 186
 "America" cup, the, v. 184
 America, the Civil War in, ii. 230; close of the, 238
 Amoaful, battle of, iii. 142
 Anderson, Lieut., murdered by Sikhs, i. 193
 Anglo-French Agreement, v. 47
 Anglo-German agreement, 1899, iv. 220
 Anglo-Japanese alliance, the, 1902, iv. 215, v. 79, 75
 Anglo-Turkish convention, the, iii. 160
 Arabi (*see* MAHDI, THE)

Arabi Pasha, exiled, iii. 111
 Arbitration, board of, at the Hague, v. 66, 68, 69
 Arbitration, court of, v. 46
 Arbitration treaties, v. 70, 95
 Arch, Joseph, i. 146; ii. 129
 Ardagh, Sir John, iv. 125
 Argyll, Duke of, ii. 159; Lord Privy Seal, iii. 172; his resignation, 174
 Armenian atrocities, iii. 164; Mr. Gladstone and, iv. 181; Lord Rosebery and, iv. 182; v. 8
 Armstrong, Sir William, i. 117
 Army, development of the, i. 118; its composition, v. 163
 Arrow incident, the, iii. 168
 Art of the Victorian era, i. 134
 Artists' Benevolent Fund, Edward and, iii. 74
 Ashanti Expedition, the, iii. 141; Hodgson's expedition in, iv. 168
 Ashbourne Act, the, iii. 181
 Ashburton Treaty, the, i. 181
 Asquith, Mr. H. H., iii. 186, 206; and Old Age Pensions, v. 152; Home Secretary, 1892, 160; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1906, 162; Prime Minister, 1908, 163; and the House of Lords, 208
 Atbara, battle of the, iii. 132
 Athens, revolution of, ii. 65; visit of Edward VII. to, iii. 11
 Auckland, George V. at, iv. 43
 Auckland, Lord, i. 188
 Australia, its colonial beginnings, i. 183; early explorers in, 184; discoveries of gold in, 184; federation of the Commonwealth, iv. 14; visit of George V., 27
 Austria, in 1848, i. 158; and Denmark, ii. 101; war with Prussia, 181; and the Balkans, iii. 154, 158, 160

B

Baccarat scandal, the, iii. 206
 Baden-Powell, Sir R. S., iv. 136
 "Bag and Baggage" policy, the, iii. 148
 Baker Pasha, iii. 114
 Balfe, M. W., i. 138
 Balfour, Mr. A. J., iii. 172; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1887), 184; and the military hospitals in South Africa, iv. 142; and Tariff Reform, v. 28; his defeat at Manchester, 38
 Balfour, Mr. Gerald, iv. 176
 Balkans, trouble in the, iii. 148, 160
 Balmoral, i. 73, 79
 Barbizon school of painting, the, i. 136
 Baroda, royal visit to, iii. 36
 Bazaine, Marshal, ii. 218
 Bazalgette, Sir Joseph, iii. 90
 Beaconsfield, Earl of (*see* DISRAELI)
 Beatrice, Princess, ii. 165
 Beards, fashionable in England, i. 149
 Bechuanaland, acquired by Cape Colony, iv. 114; annexation by Boers, 129
 Belfast, royal visits to, i. 110; v. 120
 Belgium, independence of, ii. 215
 Benares, royal visit to, iii. 37
 Benedek, General, ii. 185
 Benedetti, M., ii. 211
 Bengal, famine in, iii. 31
 Bennett, Sterndale, i. 238
 Berber, taken by Lord Kitchener, iii. 132
 Berlin, treaty of, between Prussia and Italy, ii. 183; conference of, iii. 160; Edward VII. at, v. 102
 Berlioz, i. 138
 Bethlehem, Edward VII. at, ii. 54
 Biarritz, Edward VII. at, v. 218
 Biggar, Mr., iii. 170
 Birch, Henry, tutor to Edward VII., i. 60, 172
 Birkbeck Institute, the, iii. 97
 Birmingham, Chartist riots at, i. 95; royal visit to, ii. 169, 177; visit of Queen Victoria to, iii. 224
 Birrell, Augustine, his Land Purchase Act, 1909, v. 128
 Bismarck, ii. 98, 181, 187, 209, 218, 226; attitude to Turkey, iii. 151; and the Treaty of San Stefano, 159
 Black Prince, the, i. 48
 Black Sea and the Russian fleet, ii. 226
 Bloemfontein, Boer victory at (1848), i. 175; Convention of (1854), 175; Conference (1899), iv. 125; Lord Roberts enters, 134
 Blondin crosses Niagara, i. 235
 Blue Ribbon Army, the, i. 145
 Boers, their Great Trek, i. 173; annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain (1877), iv. 111; proclaim a triumvirate, 111; the first Boer War, 111; the Great Boer War (1899-1902), opening of the, 126; overtures for peace, 150; conditions of peace, 160; conditions accepted, 164; peace declared, 166; home politics and, 182; colonial enthusiasm, 188; the Boer generals in London, 192; the aftermath of the war, v. 17, 129
 Bombay, royal visit to, iii. 32
 Boomplatz, battle of, i. 148

Booth, Wilkes, assassinates President Lincoln, ii. 238
 Botha, General, iv. 136; meeting with Lord Kitchener, 151; Prime Minister of the Transvaal, v. 131; in London, 132
 Bourbaki, General, ii. 221
 Bowring, Sir John, iii. 168
 Boxer rising, the, iv. 205; peace signed, 211
 Boycotting, iii. 173
 Bridge, Sir Frederick, iv. 76
 Bright, John, i. 99; and Edward VII., ii. 167; iii. 54
 Brighton, Edward VII. at, i. 10; v. 211
 Brisbane, George V. at, iv. 43
Britannia, the, iii. 96; royal princes training on, iv. 18
 British and Foreign Bible Society, Edward VII. lays foundation-stone, iii. 87
 British East Africa Company, iii. 143
 British Orphan Asylum, Slough, opened by Edward VII., ii. 117
 British South Africa Company, Charter obtained, iv. 114
 Broadwood, Col., iv. 135
 Brodrick, St. John, iv. 146, 183
 Bruce, General the Hon. Robert, governor to Edward VII., i. 18, 211, ii. 1, 4; death of, 68
 Brydon, Dr., his escape from the Afghans, i. 188
 Buckstone, J. B., iii. 73
 Bulgaria, revolt against Turkey, iii. 148; autonomy of, 160; and Russia, 164
 Bulgarian atrocities, the, iii. 148
 Buller, Charles, i. 176
 Buller, General Sir Redvers, iv. 131, 134, 137
 Bülow, Prince von, v. 95, 96
 Buluwayo, iv. 114
 Burdett-Coutts, Mr., and the hospitals in South Africa, iv. 138
 Burdett, Sir Henry, iii. 84
 Burke, Mr., assassination of, iii. 176
 Burnaby, Col. Fred, iii. 121
 Burns, Mr. John, iv. 228

C

Cabmen's Benevolent Association and Edward VII. iii. 76
 Calcutta, royal visit to, iii. 37
 Calgary, George V. at, iv. 56
 Canada, in early Victorian times, i. 176; unification of Upper and Lower, 178; Edward VII. visits, 119; present position of, 180; boundary difficulty, 181; sends a regiment

to the Crimea, 181; reciprocity treaty with U.S.A., 182; condition in the 'sixties, 201; railways in, 227; visit of George V. to, iv. 52
 Candia, bombardment of, iii. 166
 Cambridge, Edward VII. at Trinity College, i. 69, ii. 1
 Cambridge, the Duke of, iii. 83; his retirement, iv. 75
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, on the Boer War, iv. 144, 182; becomes Prime Minister, v. 20; manifesto on Free Trade, 25, 129, 146; and reduction of armaments, 159; death, 160; on the reform of the Lords, 192; his Administration, 194
 Cape Colony, i. 173
 Cape Town, George V. at, iv. 51
 Cardwell, Lord, i. 118
 Carlos, King of Portugal, visit of Edward VII. to, iv. 228
 Carlyle on Disraeli's attitude to Turkey, iii. 151
 Carnarvon, Lord, disagreement with Disraeli, iii. 154-5; resignation of, 156, 181; iv. 108
 Cassagnac, M. Paul de, iv. 236
 Cavagnari, Major, iii. 161, 162
 Cavendish, Lord Frederick, assassination of, iii. 176
 Cavour, ii. 192
 Cawnpore, massacre at, i. 197; royal visit to, iii. 37
 Cetewayo, iv. 108
 Ceylon, royal visit to, iii. 37; George V. at, iv. 31
 Chamberlain, Austen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, v. 15
 Chamberlain, Joseph, ii. 156; his family, 169; his radicalism, 170; and Home Rule, iii. 171, 182; iv. 64; and South Africa, 116; and the Jameson Raid, 118, 123; attack upon, 128; and the South African rebels, 144; and the Boer War, 185; and Tariff Reform, v. 2, 5, 28; visit to South Africa, 4; and Old Age Pensions, 6, 146; resignation of office, 13
 Chanzi, General, ii. 221
 Chaplin, Henry, and Old Age Pensions, v. 145
 Charles Albert of Italy, i. 164; abdication of, ii. 192
 Chartered Company, the, superseded by the British Government, iii. 143
 Chartists, the, i. 94
 Chatsworth, Edward VII. at, iii. 94
 Chelmsford, Lord, iv. 109
 Children's Employment Commission, i. 100
 Chillianwallah, battle of i. 193

- China, British wars in, iii. 169; murder of missionaries (1895), iv. 196 (and 1900), 205; deposition of the Emperor, 203; Boxer rising, 203; Empress of, 210
- Chinese labour on the Rand, v. 18, 130; repatriation of the coolies, 132
- Chino-Japanese war, the, iv. 193
- Cholera in London, iii. 58
- Christian, King of Denmark, death of, v. 23
- Christian, Princess, her marriage, ii. 152
- Christian Victor, Prince, iii. 216
- Christians, Turkish oppression of, iii. 148, 163
- Churchill, Lord Randolph, iii. 172; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 174; death of, 186
- C.I.V., return of the, iii. 218
- "Clan-na-Gael," iii. 186
- Clarence, Duke of, enrolled on the *Britannia*, iii. 96; death of, 195
- Clark, Sir James, ii. 17
- Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, abrogated, iv. 224
- Cleland's painting of the royal family, i. 12, 14
- Clerkenwell explosion, the, iii. 82
- Cleveland, President, iv. 222
- Coal Exchange, state opening of, i. 71
- Coal mines, conditions of labour in, i. 100
- Coercion Bill, the, iii. 173, 178, 185, 224
- Colenso, battle of, iv. 131
- Colley, Sir George, iv. 112
- Colonial Empire, beginnings of our, i. 171
- Colonial Loan Act, iv. 180
- Colonial self-government, i. 179
- Colonies, British, growth of the, iii. 224
- Commune, organisation of the, ii. 221, 223
- Concentration camps, the, iv. 144
- Congo Free State, establishment of, iii. 144
- Connaught, Duke of, grant to, ii. 161; inaugurates union of South Africa, v. 142
- Consort, Prince (*see* ALBERT)
- Constable, John, i. 135
- Constantinople, Edward VII. at, ii. 64; royal visit to, iii. 9; conference at, 150, 153, 156
- Continental affairs in early years of Edward VII.'s reign, v. 42
- Coomassie (*see* KUMASI)
- Copenhagen, ii. 10; Edward VII. at, v. 57
- Cork, royal family at, i. 107; Cove, renamed Queenstown, 107; Edward VII. at, v. 122
- Corn Laws, the, i. 97; repeal of, 99, 146
- Cornwall, revenue from Duchy of, ii. 77
- Coronation, the, preparations for, iv. 66; postponement of, 75; dinners to the poor, 77; its history, 81; the ceremony, 83; the procession, 99; festivities in India, 227
- Costa, Sir Michael, ii. 163
- Cotton industry in Lancashire, ii. 73
- Court of Criminal Appeal, iv. 176
- Cowes, visit of the Russian royal family to, v. 83
- Cowley, Lord, his mission to Vienna, ii. 194
- Cowper-Temple clause, iii. 67
- Crete, insurrection in, iii. 105
- Crewe, Lord, v. 135, 163
- Crimea, visit of Edward VII. and Alexandra to iii. 3
- Crimean War, i. 80; its causes, 166
- Crimes Act (1887), revival of, 1902, v. 104
- Criminal Evidence Act, iv. 176
- Cromer, Lord, iii. 119
- Cronberg, Edward VII. meets German Emperor at, 1906, v. 101
- Cronje, General, iv. 130; surrender of, 133
- Crowns, the British State, iv. 100
- Crystal Palace, the, i. 74; concerts at, 138
- Curragh, the, Edward VII. at, ii. 2
- Currie, Sir Philip, iii. 164
- Curzon, Lord, v. 72
- Custoza, battle of, ii. 187
- Cycling, Edward VII. and, v. 183
- Cyprus, iii. 159; ceded to England, 160

D

- Dahomey, iii. 144
- Damascus, Edward VII. at, ii. 61
- Dardanelles, the, iii. 154, 156
- Darwin, Charles, i. 128
- Davis, Jefferson, ii. 231
- Davitt, Mr., iv. 188
- Death Duties, the, v. 206
- De Beers mines, the, iv. 114
- Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, passing of the, v. 195
- Declaration, the royal, iv. 14
- Delarey, General, iv. 150
- Delcassé, M. v. 98
- Delhi, i. 96; Royal visit to, iii. 38; Coronation, Durbar at, iv. 227
- Democracy, the, in the late 'sixties, iii. 53
- Democratic agitation, in the 'eighties and 'nineties, iv. 172
- Denmark, ii. 8; war with Prussia, 97, 101
- Derby Grammar School, Edward VII. at, iii. 94
- Derby, Lord, and Turkey, iii. 148, 150; and neutrality of England, 152; his warning to Russia, 154; his resignation, 156
- "Derby, the," and Edward VII., v. 177
- Détaille, M., paints Edward VII.'s portrait, v. 219
- Devonshire, Duke of, iii. 148; entertains Edward VII. at Chatsworth, 94; and Home Rule, 182; iv. 175; and Tariff Reform, v. 8; resignation of, 14
- De Wet, General, iv. 137, 146
- Dhuleep Singh, Maharajah, i. 193; ii. 26

Diamond Hill, battle of, iv. 136
 Dilke, Sir Charles, iii. 162, 171; iv. 183
 Dimsdale, Sir Joseph, iv. 60
 Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield, ii. 158, 162; iii. 25, 46, 59; and Turkey, 148, 150; and Afghanistan, 162; his death, 174
 Dogs, Edward VII. and, ii. 125; v. 187
 Dongola, seized by the Egyptian army, iii. 131
 Dorn Kop, fighting at, iv. 136
 Drama of the Victorian era, i. 139
 "Dreadnoughts," v. 203
 Dress of the Victorian era, i. 147
 Drink traffic, the, i. 144, 179; v. 197
 Dublin, Royal visits to, i. 108; iii. 1, 238; v. 110
 Duma, the Russian, v. 78
 Dundonald, Lord, iv. 133
 Dunraven, Lord, v. 105
 Dunrobin Castle, Royal visit to, ii. 144
 Düppel, battle of, ii. 101
 Durbar, in honour of Edward VII., iii. 34; the Coronation, iv. 109
 Durham, Lord, i. 176

E

East India Company, the, its cessation, i. 197
 "Eastern Question, the," iii. 163; v. 148
 Eastlake, Sir Charles, ii. 112
 Edgar, Mr., murder of, in Johannesburg, iv. 124
 Edinburgh, Duchess of, her status at the British Court, iii. 204
 Edinburgh, Duke of, iii. 105
 Edinburgh, Edward VII. at, i. 64, 73
 Education, progress of, i. 146; iii. 63; Acts, 63; iv. 172; v. 196
 Edward I., i. 40
 Edward II., i. 44
 Edward III., i. 47
 Edward IV., i. 50
 Edward V., i. 52
 Edward VI., i. 54
 Edward VII., accident to, on *Shamrock II.*, v. 184, at Waddesdon, iii. 209; agriculturist, as, ii. 123, 129; ancestry of, i. 18, 37; assassination of, attempted, iii. 205; associates of, ii. 122; baccarat scandal and, iii. 206; Balmoral, at, i. 73, 79; Birkbeck Institute opened by, iii. 97; birth of, i. 2; birth of children of, ii. 146; Black Eagle, Order of, iii. 6; Boer generals, received by, iv. 192; British Orphan Asylum, Slough, opened by, iii. 117; bust of, by Burnand, i. 11; Canadian tour, i. 199; christening of, i. 6; City, freedom of, accepted by, ii. 114; Continental tour, i. 89, iv. 228; Coronation

of, iv. 83, postponement of, iv. 75, procession, iv. 99; Covent Garden opera, at, iii. 52; created Prince of Wales, i. 6; Curragh, in camp at, ii. 2; death of, v. 230; declaration of, iv. 2; Derby 1909, and, v. 177; dogs of, v. 189; Eastern tour, ii. 29; education of, i. 12, 57, Christ Church, Oxford, at i. 66, Trinity College, Cambridge, at, i. 69, ii. 1; Exhibitions, interest in, iii. 157; expenses of, personal, iii. 209; engagement officially announced, ii. 73; friendship for John Bright, ii. 167; funeral of, v. 234; Germany, tour of, in, i. 88; governess of, i. 11, 16; heir, birth of, to, ii. 141; Home Rule, attitude towards, iii. 170, v. 103; horses of, ii. 125, v. 179; hospitals, at, iii. 82; illness of, iv. 68, v. 229; Imperialism of, i. 173, iii. 222; income of, increased, iii. 213; Indian rulers, presents from, iii. 28, 45; Indian tour of, iii. 21, the journey, iii. 31, the Durbar, iii. 34, political effect of, iii. 42, return journey, iii. 45; Ireland, in, i. 89, 106; Knight of St. Patrick, installed as, iii. 6; Lord Kitchener received by, v. 222; Lords, House of, first appearance of, in, i. 80, seat taken by, in, ii. 76; lying-in-state of, v. 232; Marlborough House, residence of, at, ii. 107; marriage of, rumours of, ii. 5, 71; masonry and, iii. 92; measles, i. 167; meeting with Princess Alexandra of Denmark, iii. 13; Mercers' Company, and, ii. 117; Mersey tunnel opened by, iii. 100; message to his first Parliament, iv. 4, to his people, iv. 8, 79, to his Indian subjects, iv. 11, to the Irish people, v. 124; Middle Temple, Bench of, iii. 95; Millbank, model dwellings at, opened by, iv. 228; Nicholas II., relations with, v. 63, 70, 76, 83; opera, at, iii. 52; oratorical powers of, ii. 136; Parliament, addresses from, to, iv. 6, first message to, iv. 4, first, opened by, iv. 14, 1902, opened by, iv. 65, 1906, opened by, v. 3, 8, 1910, opened by, v. 214, building, Ottawa, foundation-stone of, laid by, i. 227; party politics, and, v. 23; philanthropy of, iii. 70; playgoer, as, iii. 72; popularity of, in India, iii. 44; portraits, references to, of, i. 5, 11, 12, 14, 199, v. 219, 221; proclaimed King, iv. 1; racing, lover of, v. 179; revenue of, at time of marriage, ii. 77; Royal Academy, banquet, at, ii. 112, visit to, v. 222; Royal College of Music, iii. 103; Royal Literary Fund banquet, at, ii. 134; Sandringham, early days at, ii. 119, King

- and Queen of Denmark entertained by, at, ii. 146; social reformer, as, ii. 132, v. 143; silver wedding, iii. 214; South African delegates, received by, v. 141; Thames Embankment opened by, iii. 88; tiger, first, of, iii. 38; tutors of, i. 61, 62, 64; typhoid, attacked by, iii. 12, recovery from, public thanksgiving, iii. 14; unemployed, and, v. 211; wedding of, ii. 77; vaccination of, i. 10; visits to, Athens, ii. 66, Baroda, iii. 36, Belfast, v. 120, Berlin, ii. 166, Biarritz, v. 218, Birmingham, ii. 169, Bombay, iii. 32; Brighton, i. 10, v. 211, the *Britannia*, iii. 96, Calcutta, iii. 37, Ceylon, iii. 37, Chatsworth, iii. 94, v. 22, Constantinople, ii. 64, iii. 9, Copenhagen, ii. 144, v. 57, Cork, v. 122, Crimea, iii. 10, Derby, iii. 94, Dublin, 1903, v. 110, Dunrobin Castle, ii. 144, Egypt, ii. 36, iii. 8, Falières, President, v. 219, Fontainebleau, ii. 64, Francis Joseph, 1909, 102, German Emperor, 1904, v. 88, 90, 1906, v. 101, 1909, v. 102, Germany, ii. 144, 1901, iv. 192, Glasgow University, iii. 87, Greece, iii. 11, Holy Land, the, ii. 43, Ireland, iii. 90, Italy, iv. 233, Leeds, iii. 98, Leo XIII., iv. 236, Lisbon, iv. 228, Manchester, iii. 87, Marienbad, v. 210, Maynooth College, v. 118, Montreal, i. 226, Paris, i. 84, iv. 236, Pau, v. 220, Portland, iii. 94, Portugal, iv. 230, Quebec, i. 217, Russia, v. 80, St. John's, Newfoundland, i. 212, Sweden, ii. 144, Vienna, iii. 20; yachting, and, v. 181, 184
- Edward of York, Prince of Wales, birth of, iii. 198; iv. 26
- Edward the Confessor, i. 38
- Edward the Elder, i. 37
- Edward the Martyr, i. 38
- Egypt, visit of Edward VII. to, ii. 36; modern history of, iii. 109; financial position of, 118; France in, v. 48; end of the Dual Control, 53
- Eighteen-forty-eight, the year of revolutions, i. 151
- Elandslaagte, battle of, iv. 126
- Electricity, its early use, i. 125
- Elgin, Lord, i. 182; and the Far East, iii. 166
- Ellenborough, Lord, i. 188
- Elliot, Sir H., iii. 148
- Elliott, Ebenezer, i. 97
- Elphinstone, General, i. 185
- Encumbered Estates Act, i. 106
- Enslin, battle of, iv. 130
- Erythea, defeat of the Italians at, iii. 131
- Esher Committee, the, v. 166
- Eugénie, Empress, i. 82; ii. 67, 218; iv. 111
- European complications of 1865-75, ii. 181
- Exhibitions, of 1857, i. 74; various, iii. 157; the Colonial, 222
- Exploration in Africa, iii. 142

F

- Faidherbe, General, ii. 221
- Falières, President, visit from Edward VII., v. 219
- Fashion, Victorian, i. 148
- Fashoda, iii. 137
- Favre, Jules, ii. 218
- Fawcett, Henry, iii. 25
- Fenian outrage, iii. 82
- Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, Prince, iii. 163
- Finance and Socialism, v. 34
- Finance Bills and the House of Lords, v. 208, 216
- Fire Brigade, the London, iii. 78
- Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond, iv. 183
- Fitzpatrick, Sir Percy, v. 131
- Forster, W. E., ii. 156; iii. 65, 173
- "Fourth Party, the," iii. 172
- Fox, Mr. Sampson, iii. 106
- France, in 1848, i. 151; the Third Republic proclaimed, ii. 218; her aims in Egypt, iii. 111, 132; in Northern Africa, 144; v. 48 (*see also* FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR)
- Franchise Bill of 1866, iii. 53
- Francis Joseph of Austria, i. 160; visit from Edward VII., v. 102
- Franco-Austrian War, ii. 196
- Franco-Prussian War, strained relations, ii. 188; 209; its causes, 210; armistice, 221; indemnity, 222; neutrality of Great Britain, 225
- Frederick III., of Prussia, his accession, iii. 214; death, 215
- Frederick, Empress, death of the, iii. 238
- Frederick William IV. of Prussia, godfather to Edward VII., i. 8; and the revolutions of 1848, 157; ii. 9
- Free Trade and Protection (*see* TARIFF REFORM)
- Freemasonry, Edward VII. and, iii. 92
- French Canadians, loyalty of the, i. 217
- Frere, Sir Bartle, iii. 27; iv. 208
- Progmore, the Royal mausoleum at, ii. 75

G

- Galata, seized by Armenian anarchists, iii. 165
- Gallipoli, iii. 151, 155
- Gambetta, ii. 209, 219, 221, 222
- Gambling, Edward VII. and, iii. 208

"Gang System, the," ii. 126
 Garfield, President, assassination of, iii. 174, 205
 Garibaldi, i. 163; ii. 200, 204
 Gas, its early use as an illuminant, i. 123
 Gaselee, General, and the Boxer rising, iv. 206
 Gastein, Convention of, ii. 181
 Gatacre, General, iv. 130, 135
 George V., his visit to Canada, i. 218, 226, 231;
 birth of, ii. 144; on the *Britannia*, iii. 96;
 iv. 18; commands the *Thrush*, 20; tour to
 Australia and the Colonies, 16, 27; his
 return, 60; marriage, v. 197
 George, Mr. Lloyd, ii. 174; Chancellor of the
 Exchequer, v. 163; his career, 199; his
 Budget, 204; Budget passed by the Lords,
 223
 George, Prince of Denmark, accepts the Crown of
 Greece, ii. 66; iii. 165; v. 64
 Germany, visit of Edward VII. to, i. 88; in 1848,
 156; birth of the Empire, ii. 228; strained
 relations with, in the 'nineties, iv. 121, 219;
 and China, 196; and reduction of arma-
 ments, v. 69; rivalry between Great Britain
 and, 85, 95; her navy, 85, 91, 95, 203
 (see also FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR)
 Gettysburg, battle of, ii. 233
 Gibbs, Mr., tutor to Edward VII., i. 61, 88, 172
 Gibraltar, visit of Edward VII. to (1903), iv. 233
 Gladstone, Herbert, Viscount, v. 136
 Gladstone, the Rt. Hon. W. E., at Sandringham,
 ii. 149; and the Civil List, 158; and
 Queen Victoria, 164; and Irish Disestab-
 lishment, iii. 2; and the Franchise Bill
 (1866), 53, 59; and Egypt, 112; and Turkey,
 148; the Six Resolutions, 152-3; attack on
 Anglo-Turkish Convention, 160; and Home
 Rule, 169, 188; attack on Mr. Parnell, 174;
 the elections of 1885, 182; and of 1886,
 184; his resignation, 188; views on the
 Boer War, iv. 186; and the House of Lords,
 v. 189
 Glasgow, riots in, i. 93; University, Edward VII.
 lays foundation-stone, iii. 87
Globe, The, and the Schouvaloff-Salisbury
 compact, iii. 160
 Golf, Edward VII. and, v. 183
 Goojerat, battle of, i. 193
 Gordon Boys' Home, the, iii. 129
 Gordon, General, iii. 112, 117, 118; death of,
 126; memorial to, 128
 Gordon-Cumming scandal, the, iii. 206
 Gortschakoff, Prince, iii. 152, 155
 Goschen, Viscount, iv. 184; and Tariff Reform,
 v. 8
 Gough, Sir Hugh (Lord), i. 189

Graham, General, iii. 117
 Grant, General, ii. 238
 Granville, Lord, ii. 226
 Gravelotte, battle of, ii. 218
 Grayson, Mr. Victor, v. 196
 Greece and Crete, iii. 165
 Grenfell, Lord, iii. 131
 Grévy, President Jules, ii. 222
 Grey, Sir Edward, iv. 184; v. 96
 Grove, Sir George, iii. 105
 Guelph, the surname, i. 18
 Guns, growth of, i. 116
 Guy's Hospital and Edward VII., iii. 85
 Gwallior, Royal visit to, iii. 38

H

Haakon VII., King of Norway, v. 210
 Habibullah Khan, Ameer of Afghanistan, v. 71
 Hague Conference, the, v. 159
 Haldane, the Rt. Hon. R. B., v. 163
 Halsbury, Lord, v. 2
 Hamburg, visit of Edward VII. to, v. 93
 Hanover, and Prussian annexation, v. 192
 Harcourt, Sir William, iv. 173; and the Boer
 War, iv. 184; the Death Duties, v. 206
 Hardie, Mr. Keir, v. 37
 Hardinge, Sir Charles (Viscount), v. 81
 Hardinge, Sir Henry (Viscount), i. 189
 Harris, Dr. Rutherford, iv. 116
 Hart, Sir Robert, iv. 206
 Hartington, Lord (see DEVONSHIRE, DUKE OF)
 Head, Sir Edmund, i. 215
 Hearsay, General, i. 194
 Helena, Princess (see CHRISTIAN, PRINCESS)
 Heligoland ceded to Germany, iii. 143
 Henry of Battenberg, Prince, ii. 165; iii. 216
 Henry of Prussia, Prince, his mission to China,
 iv. 196
 Hensel's portrait of Edward VII., i. 12
 Herschell, Lord, and the Venezuela question,
 iv. 224
 Hicks, Colonel, iii. 112
 Hicks Beach, Sir Michael, Viscount St. Aldwyn,
 v. 6
 Hildyard, Mrs., i. 16
 Hobhouse, Miss, and the South African Con-
 centration Camps, iv. 146
 Hodgson, Sir Francis, iv. 168
 Hohenzollern claims to the Spanish throne, ii. 210
 Holland, Dr., ii. 18
 Holloway College for Women, Royal, opened by
 Queen Victoria, iii. 224
 Holy Land, visit of Edward VII. to, ii. 43
 Holyoake, G. J., iii. 154

Holyrood Palace, i. 64, 72; Volunteer review at, i. 121
 Home Defence, v. 168
 Home Rule, the Bill of 1886, iii. 163, 169, 181, 184; the Second Bill, 188; iv. 175; Edward VII. and, v. 103; 189
 Hornby, Admiral, proceeds to Constantinople, iii. 156
 Horse-racing, Edward VII. and, v. 177
 Hospital Saturday Fund, iii. 85
 Hospitals in South Africa, iv. 139
 House of Lords (*see* LORDS)
 Housing Reform, iv. 228
 Humbert, King, murder of, iv. 233
 Hungary, insurrection in, i. 162

I

Ich Dien, i. 46
 Independent Labour Party, the, v. 37, 193
 India, the Great Mutiny, i. 193; its causes, 194; India annexed to the Crown, 197; proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress, iii. 50; Edward VII.'s tour in, iii. 21; Russian designs on, v. 59, 72
 Inebriates Act, the, i. 179
 Infallibility, the Papal, ii. 204
 Inventions of Edward VII.'s early days, i. 122
 "Invincibles, the," iii. 176, 179
 Imperial Conference, the (1907), v. 132
 Imperial Defence, Committee of, i. 181
 Imperial Institute, the, iii. 108; foundation-stone laid, 230; opening of, 231
 Imperial, the Prince, ii. 210, 217; death of, iv. 109
 Imperialism, Edward VII. and, i. 173; iii. 222
 Ireland, Edward VII. in, i. 89; condition in the mid-nineteenth century, 102; insurrection in, 106; visit of Queen Victoria to, ii. 2; state of in the 'sixties, iii. 2; the Land League, 72, 86; Edward VII. in, 90; affairs in the late 'seventies, 169; in 1887, 224; and the first Jubilee, 230; Nationalists and the Boer War, iv. 188; in the early twentieth century, v. 103; Landowners' Convention (1902), 104, 105; visit of Edward VII. (1903), 110
 Irish Relief Bill, 1880, iii. 170
 Ironclads, their superiority demonstrated, ii. 232
 Irving, Sir Henry, iii. 72
 Isandlwana, battle of, iv. 109
 Ismail Pasha, iii. 109
 Italy, in 1848, i. 163; war of 1866, ii. 182; unification of, 192; defeat at Erythrea

in Abyssinia, iii. 231; visit of Edward VII. (1903), iv. 234
 Ito, Marquis, iv. 212

J

Jaffa, Edward VII. at, ii. 43
 Jamaica, insurrection in, i. 185
 Jameson, Dr., iv. 117; his raid on the Transvaal, 118; the home Government and, 122; conviction of the raiders, 123
 Japan, treaty with (1858), iii. 166; preparations for war with Russia, iv. 212; and Korea, 213; Anglo-Japanese alliance (1902), 215 (*see* RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR)
 Jenner, Sir William, ii. 17
 Jerusalem, ii. 46; Edward VII. at, 48
 Jeypore, royal visit to, iii. 38
 "Jingoes, the," iii. 153-4
 Joachim, i. 138
 Johannesburg, agitation in, iv. 115; and the Jameson raiders, 120
 Joubert, General, iv. 111
 Jubilee of Queen Victoria, the first, iii. 221, 225; the "Diamond," 232

K

Kabul, i. 185; re-entered by British troops, 188; proposal for British Resident at, iii. 160; Russian mission to, 160; British Resident accepted, 162
 Ketteler, Baron, murder of, in Peking, iv. 206
 Khalifa, the (*see* ABDULLAH)
 Khartoum, founded, ii. 36; Gordon at, iii. 112; besieged, 118; fall of, 126; Kitchener's advance on, 132
 Khyber Pass, the, i. 187
 Kiau-chau, and Germany, iv. 196
 Kiel Canal, the, Edward VII. at, v. 90
 Killarney, royal visit to, ii. 4
 Kilmainham hospital, ii. 4
 Kimberley, Lord, iii. 164
 Kimberley, siege of, iv. 129; its relief, 133
 King Edward's Hospital Fund, iii. 85
 Kingsley, Charles, i. 64
 Kitchener, Lord, becomes Sirdar, iii. 131; meets George V. at Pietermaritzburg, iv. 50; proceeds to South Africa, 131; takes the field against De Wet, 138; and guerilla warfare, 146; meeting with Botha, 147; his proclamation, 149; receives his field-marshal's bâton from Edward VII., v. 222
 Koh-i-noor diamond, the, iv. 100
 Königgrätz, battle of, ii. 185

Korea, Russia and, iv. 212
 Kossuth, Louis, i. 159
 Kruger, President, early years, i. 174; iv. 111;
 his dispatch to Lord Salisbury, 134; flight
 of, 138; in Holland, 147
 Krugersdorp, fight at, iv. 118
 Kumasi, iii. 141; siege of, iv. 168
 Kuropatkin, General, iv. 213
 Kwoffi Kari-Kari, King of the Ashantis, iii. 141

L

Labouchere, Mr., v. 186
 Labour Party and the Czar, v. 82 (*see* INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY)
 Labour representation in Parliament, v. 21, 30
 Labourers, agricultural, condition of, ii. 130
 Ladysmith, address from, to George V., iv. 49;
 siege of 129; relief of, 133
 Lahore, royal visit to, iii. 38
 Lancaster, Edward VII. at, i. 79
 Land Act, the Irish, iii. 173
 Land League, the Irish, iii. 172, 186; suppression of the, 174
 Land Purchase Act, iv. 180; v. 2, 104, 106, 128
 Land valuation, v. 204
 Landseer, Sir E., i. 5, 14
 Lansdowne, Lord, iv. 140, 182; v. 8
 Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, i. 223; meets George V. at Vancouver, iv. 57
 Layard, Mr., British Ambassador at Constantinople, iii. 151, 156
 Lee, General, ii. 238
 Leeds, visit of Edward VII. to, iii. 97
 Leitrim, Lord, murder of, iii. 170
 Leo XIII., Pope, visit of Edward VII. to, iv. 236; death of, v. 110
 Leopold I. of Belgium, i. 24, 32
 Leopold II. of Belgium, and the Congo Free State, iii. 144
 Leyds, Dr., iv. 123
 Liberation, army of, ii. 201
 Licensed Victuallers' Asylum, Edward VII.'s visit to, iii. 79
 Licensing Reform, v. 198, 206
 Lincoln, Abraham, ii. 192, 231; assassination of, 238
 Lipton, Sir Thomas, and yachting, v. 184
 Literature of the Victorian era, i. 127
 Liverpool, Edward VII. at, i. 79; visit of Queen Victoria to, iii. 222
 Livingstone, David, iii. 142
 Lobanoff, Prince, iii. 164
 Lobengula, iv. 114
 Local Government Board, instituted, i. 147

Loftus, Lord Augustus, iii. 156
 Londonderry, Lord, iv. 176
 Lords, House of, Edward VII.'s first appearance in, i. 80; Edward VII. takes his seat in, ii. 76; Mr. Chamberlain's early opinion on, 171; reform of the, v. 191, 194, 208, 225; and Money Bills, 208, 216; pass Lloyd George's Budget, 223
 Lorne, Marquis of, ii. 155
 Loubet, President, iv. 237; visit to England, 239; meeting with Edward VII., v. 98
 Louis Napoleon (*see* NAPOLEON III.)
 Louis Philippe, i. 151; his flight, 154
 Louise, Princess, Duchess of Argyll, ii. 155; her wedding, 158
 Louise, Princess, Duchess of Fife, iii. 212
 Lowe, Mr. (*see* SHERBROOKE, LORD)
 Lucknow, royal visit to, iii. 37
 Lunacy in the Victorian era, i. 147
 Luxembourg question, the, ii. 189
 Lyons, Lord, ii. 210
 Lyttelton, Lady, i. 11
 Lytton, Lord, Viceroy of India, iii. 100

M

McCarthy, Justin, iii. 188; iv. 187
 MacCormack, Sir William, iv. 140
 MacDonald, Sir Claude, iv. 196, 203
 Macdonald, Sir Hector, iii. 132, 135
 McKenna, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Reginald, v. 163
 Macfarren, Sir George, iii. 106
 Macleod, Dr. Norman, ii. 30
 MacMahon, Marshal, ii. 197, 218
 Macnaughten, Sir William, i. 185
 Madagascar, v. 54
 Madras, royal visit to, iii. 37
 Mafeking, siege of, iv. 136
 Magdala, iii. 140
 Magee, Dr., iii. 214
 Magenta, battle of, ii. 197
 Magersfontein, battle of, iv. 130
 Mahdi, the, ii. 42; iii. 110, 112; proclaimed Sultan of Kordofan, 116
 Majuba Hill, iv. 112
 Malta, Indian troops brought to, iii. 159; Edward VII. at (1903), iv. 233
 Manchester, Edward VII. opens Royal Agricultural Show at (1867), iii. 87
 Manchuria, railways in, iv. 199; Russia firmly established in, 212
 Manns, Sir August, i. 138
 Manuel, King of Portugal, his flight, iv. 230
 Maori wars, i. 183
 Maoris, presented to George V., iv. 46

- Marchand, Major, iii. 132, 137
 Marie Alexandrovna, her marriage with Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, ii. 151
 Marlborough House, ii. 14, 107
 Maronite Christians, massacre of, ii. 61
 Mary of Cambridge, Princess, Duchess of Teck, ii. 166, death of, iii. 200
 Mary, Queen, ii. 166; engagement to the Duke of Clarence, iii. 197; marriage to George V., 197; her early years, iv. 22; degree of LL.D. conferred by University of Montreal, 54
 Mashonaland, expedition into, iv. 114
 Matabeleland, iv. 114
 Mathew, Father, i. 103, 145
 Maud, Princess, Queen of Norway, birth of, ii. 146; her marriage, iii. 212; visit from Queen Alexandra, v. 210
 Mauritius, George V. at, iv. 49
 Maynooth College, ii. 2; visit of Edward VII. to, v. 118
 Maximilian of Austria, Emperor of Mexico, ii. 191; murder of, 192
 Medical profession, the, in mid-Victorian days, i. 147
 Meerut, Sepoy revolt at, i. 197
 Mehemet Ali, ii. 36
 Melbourne, George V.'s visit to, iv. 34
 Melbourne, Lord, his letter to Queen Victoria, i. 6; on the education of Edward VII., 59; ii. 22
 Mendelssohn, i. 137
 Menelek, King of Abyssinia, iii. 140
 Mentana, battle of, ii. 204
 Mercers' Company, the, ii. 117
 Mersey tunnel, opened by Edward VII., iii. 100
 Methuen, Lord, iv. 129, 137; wounded, 150
 Metz, siege of, ii. 218, 219
 Mexico, withdrawal of the French army, ii. 191
 Milner, Lord, iv. 146, 150; v. 129
 Mitchell, Colonel, i. 196
 Mohammed, Jan, iii. 162
 Moltke, General von, ii. 183
 Mombasa railway built, iii. 144
 Monroe doctrine, the, ii. 192; iv. 223
 Montreal, Edward VII. at, i. 226; George V. at, iv. 54
 Moodkee, battle of, i. 189
 Morley, John, Viscount, ii. 176; iii. 182; iv. 176
 Morocco, France and, v. 48; revolt in (1902), 50; Great Britain and, 50; convention of 1856, 52; and Spain, 53; the Anglo-French agreement, 53; the Kaiser in, 96; France and, 97; effects of the Kaiser's visit, 98; decides against reform, 100
 Morris, William, i. 137
 Motoring, Edward VII. and, v. 183
 Music of the Victorian era, i. 137
 Music, Royal College of, iii. 103
- N
- Napier, Lord, i. 168, 193; iii. 128, 140
 Naples, overthrow of, ii. 201
 Napoleon III., i. 82, 86, 165; ii. 67, 103, 105, 181, 189; and Mexico, 191; attempt on his life, 193, 209, 216; fall of, 218, 221, 222
 Napoleon, Prince Jerome, ii. 193
 National Rifle Association, i. 120
 Nationalists, the Irish, iii. 170
 Naval Academy, Portsmouth, the, i. 114
 Naval activity, i. 116; iv. 174; v. 203, 166
 Navy Bill, the German, v. 85
 Near East, the, iii. 148
 New Hebrides, the, v. 54
 New York, Edward VII. at, i. 239
 New Zealand, its colonial beginnings, i. 183; visit of George V. to, iv. 43
 Newcastle, the Duke of, accompanies Edward VII. on his colonial tour, i. 206, 211, 232
 Newman, Cardinal, i. 8
 Newport, Mon., Chartist riots at, i. 95
 Niagara, Falls of, Edward VII. at, i. 228, 232, 235; George V. at, iv. 57
 Nicholas II., Czar of Russia, iii. 208; and Edward VII., v. 63, 70, 76; his wooing, and escape from death in Japan, 64; marriage, 65; proposals for universal peace, 65; visit to England (1909), 83
 Nicholas, King of Montenegro, v. 65
 Niger Company, the Royal Chartered, its rights purchased, iv. 180
 Niger Protectorate proclaimed, iii. 144
 Nigeria, the boundary convention (1898), v. 48
 Norfolk, Duke of, iv. 176
 Northbrook, Lord, Viceroy of India, iii. 22, 118, 160
 Northcote, Sir Stafford, iii. 114, 156
 North Sea incident, the, with Russian warships, iv. 218; v. 62, 70
 Norwich, royal visit to, ii. 132
 Novara, battle of, i. 163
 Nubar Pasha, iii. 110, 119
 Nupe, expedition against, iii. 145
- O
- Oath, the Coronation, iv. 81
 O'Brien Smith, i. 106
 O'Brien, William, and the Boers, iv. 188

O'Connell, Daniel, i. 102
 Ohrwalder, Father, ii. 131
 Olaf, Prince, v. 210
 Old Age Pensions, v. 6, 144, 146; estimated cost, 150; early suggestions for, 153; the Act of 1909, 154, 196, 202
 Ollivier, M., ii. 210
 Omdurman, the Khalifa at, iii. 131; battle of, 133
 Opera, the, in the Victorian era, i. 138
 Opium traffic, the, iii. 147
Ophir, voyage of the, iv. 27
 Orange Free State, the, iv. 213; joins the Transvaal against Great Britain, 126; annexed by Great Britain, 136
 Orangeism in Toronto, i. 236
 Orleans, taken by Germany, ii. 221
 Orsini, Felice, attempts assassination of Napoleon III., ii. 192
 O'Shea, Captain, iii. 175
 Osman Digna, iii. 117
 Ottawa, Edward VII. at, i. 227; George V. at, iv. 54
 Oxford, Edward VII. enters Christ Church, i. 66

P

Paardeberg, battle of, iv. 133
 Paget, Sir James, iii. 14
 Paladines, General D'Aurelle de, ii. 219
 Palmerston, Lord, i. 162; ii. 17, 18, 103; his death, 144; and Turkey, iii. 148
 Panama Canal, the, iv. 224
 Paris, visits of Edward VII. to, i. 84; iv. 236; v. 42; siege of, ii. 218; treaty of (1871), iii. 159
 Parnell, Charles Stewart, iii. 170; arrest of, 174; and the Phoenix Park murders, 180; the libel action against *The Times*, 185; his ruin, 186; his death, 188
Parnellism and Crime, iii. 185
 Parratt, Sir Walter, iv. 176
 Patti, Adelina, i. 239
 Pauncefote, Lord, v. 68
 Peace conference, the (1899), v. 68
 "Peace with honour," iii. 160
 Peel, Sir Robert, i. 97; and the civil list, 158
 Pekin, taken by British and a Minister established at, iii. 168; trouble in (1896), iv. 196; the legations besieged, 205; relief, 210
 Penjdeh dispute, the, iii. 130
 "People's Charter," the, i. 94
 People's Palace, Whitechapel, opened by Queen Victoria, iii. 225
 Persia, visit of the Shah to England, iii. 189; and the Powers, v. 72; revolution in, 75

Perth, Western Australia, George V. at, iv. 48
 Philharmonic Society, founded, i. 137
 Phipps, Sir Charles, ii. 16, 18, 26
 Phoenix Park murders, the, iii. 176
 Pieter's Hill, battle of, iv. 133
 Pigott, Richard, iii. 186
 Pius IX., receives Edward VII., i. 89; his flight, 163; reinstatement, 165; ii. 206
 Playfair, Dr. Lyon (Lord), i. 64
 Plevna, iii. 153
 Plombières, compact of, ii. 192
 Plowden, Mr. Walter, iii. 138
 Plunkett, Sir Horace, iv. 180
 Poor Law, Reform of the, i. 102, 104; royal commission on the, v. 145, 154
 Poor, royal commission on the aged (1893), v. 147
 Port Arthur, Russia and, iv. 195, 199; taken by Japan, 214
 Portland, Edward VII. at, iii. 94
 Portsmouth, U.S.A., treaty of, between Russia and Japan, iv. 214
 Portugal and Great Britain, iv. 230
 Prague, treaty of, ii. 187
 Preferential system, the, v. 6
 Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the, i. 137
 Prester John, King of Abyssinia, iii. 131
 Pretoria, entry of Lord Roberts, iv. 136
 Pretorius, General, iv. 111
 Prince Consort, (*see* ALBERT)
 Princess Royal, the, i. 60
 Prince of Wales (*see* EDWARD VII., GEORGE V.), the title first given, i. 44
 Prinsloo, General, iv. 137
 Prisons Act, iv. 178
 Protection and Free Trade (*see* TARIFF REFORM)
 Prussia, war with Denmark, ii. 101; and Austria, war of 1866, 181; and Italy, 182 (*see also* FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, GERMANY, WILLIAM II.)
 Punjab, annexation of, i. 193
 Puritans of the Victorian Era, i. 142

Q

Quebec, visit of Edward VII., i. 217; and of George V., iv. 52
 Queen's prize, the, instituted, i. 121
 Queenstown, i. 107
 Quintuple treaty, the, ii. 215

R

Railways, early days of, i. 111; in Canada, 227
 Ras Ali, King of Abyssinia, iii. 139

- Rebels in South Africa, treatment of the, iv.
 143
 Rechabites, Independent Order of, i. 145
 Reddersburg, surrender at, iv. 135
 Redistribution of Seats Bill, iii. 53, 160
 Redmond, Mr. John, iv. 187
 Reform Bill of 1867, iii. 53, 58
 Reform League, the, iii. 57
 Regalia, the, iv. 104
 Reid, Sir James, v. 218
 Reid, Sir Robert, iv. 183
 Republicanism, Mr. Chamberlain and, ii. 172
 Reval, meeting between Edward VII. and the
 Czar at, v. 76, 80
 Revolution of 1848 in France, i. 152
 Rhodes, Cecil, iv. 114; and the Jameson Raid,
 118; shut up in Kimberley, 124; his
 death and will, 166
 Rice throwing at weddings, custom introduced
 into England, ii. 160
 Richmond, Va., Edward VII. at, i. 238
 Rights, Bill of, i. 19
 Riots in Hyde Park, iv. 57; in Trafalgar Square,
 222
 Roberts, Lord, takes Kabul, iii. 162; created an
 Earl and Garter Knight by Queen Victoria,
 238; proceeds to South Africa, iv. 131;
 enters the Transvaal, 136; his proclama-
 tions, 136, 138; and the hospitals, 140
 Robinson, Sir Hercules, Lord Rosmead, iv. 117
 Rome, Edward VII. in, i. 89; iv. 234; attack
 on, by Garibaldi, ii. 204; entrance of the
 national army, 207
 Roosevelt, President, and mediation between
 Russia and Japan, iv. 214
 Rorke's Drift, iv. 109
 Rosebery, Lord, iii. 50, 105, 164; his Adminis-
 tration, 164, 188; iv. 170; speech on the
 Colonies, 63; on the Boer War, 147; and
 the Armenian atrocities, 182; entertains
 Edward VII. at Posilipo, 234; and Old Age
 Pensions, v. 144; and reform of the
 House of Lords, 225
 Ross, Sir Charles, i. 10
 Roumania, declared a kingdom, iii. 100
 Royal Academy banquet, Edward VII.'s first
 speech at, ii. 112
 Royal Army Medical Corps, the, iv. 142
 Royal Caledonian Asylum, Edward VII. and,
 iii. 75
 Royal Marriage Act, the, ii. 155, 156
 Royal Medical Benevolent College, Edward VII.
 at, iii. 84
 Royal National Lifeboat Institution, Edward VII.
 and, iii. 70
 Royal Theatrical Fund, the, ii. 72
 Royal Titles Bill, the, ii. 46
 Rozhdestvensky, Admiral, and the Baltic fleet,
 iv. 214; the North Sea Incident, 218
 Rujeet Singh, i. 189
 Russell, Lord John, i. 95, 100, 178; ii. 71, 99,
 101, 184, 198, 200, 202, 214; iii. 139
 Russell, Sir Charles, Lord Russell of Killowen,
 iii. 186, 206; and the Venezuela question,
 iv. 224
 Russia, and the Crimean war, i. 166; and the
 "Black Sea Clause," ii. 226; and India,
 iii. 50, 160; and Turkey, 148; and Bul-
 garia, 150, 164; and England, prospect of
 war between, 159; and the Far East, iv.
 194; and China, 211; relations with Great
 Britain in early twentieth century, v. 59;
 convention with Great Britain (1907), 70;
 her Duma, 78; visits of Edward VII. to,
 80
 Russo-Japanese War, the, its causes, iv. 212;
 outbreak of, 213; close, 214
 Russo-Turkish War, iii. 150-8
- S
- Sadowa, battle of, ii. 187
 Said Pasha, ii. 36
 St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Edward VII.,
 iii. 82
 St. Germans, Earl of, i. 211
 St. John's, Newfoundland, visit of Edward VII.
 to, i. 212
 St. Thomas's Hospital, new buildings opened at,
 ii. 164; foundation-stone laid by Queen
 Victoria, iii. 82
 Salisbury, Marquis of, iii. 22, 60; and Turkey,
 148; at the Conference at Constantinople,
 150, 155; Administrations of, 163, 184;
 iv. 170; and the Boer War, 134; and
 affairs in China, 195; and the Boxer rising,
 206; and Germany, 219; and the Venezuela
 question, 223; death of, v. 8; and Asiatic
 questions, 76
 Samoa, surrendered to Germany and U.S.A., iv.
 220
 San Stefano, treaty of, iii. 158
 Sand River Convention, i. 175
 Sanna's Post, battle at, iv. 135
 Schema of Ecclesia, ii. 205
 Schleswig-Holstein disputes, the, ii. 97, 181;
 ceded to Austria and Prussia, 105
 Schouvaloff, Count, iii. 157, 160
 Schreiner, Mr., iv. 143
 Scott, Sir C. S., v. 65

Sedan, battle of, ii. 218
 Selborne, Lord, v. 129
 Senegal, iii. 144
 Servia, revolt against Turkey, iii. 148; declared a kingdom, 160
 Settlement, Act of, i. 19
 Seven Weeks' War, the, ii. 184
 Seymour, Admiral Sir Edward, against the Boxers, iv. 205
 Seymour, Sir Beauchamp, bombards Alexandria, iii. 111
 Shaftesbury, Earl of, i. 92, 100
 "Shameful Peace, The," i. 48
 Shamrock II., accident to Edward VII. on, v. 184
 Shaw, Sir Eyre Massey, iii. 78
 Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, iv. 108
 Sherbrooke, Lord, iii. 47, 54, 60
 Shere Ali, Russian mission to, iii. 160; resents English mission, 160-1; attitude of, towards European agents, 162; death of, 162
 Shimonoseki, treaty of, iv. 194
 Sikh War, the, i. 189
 Singapore, George V. at, iv. 32
 Sinket, massacre at, iii. 117
 Sinope, destruction of, i. 107
 Slatin Bey, iii. 131
 Slavery, Edward VII. and, i. 238; abolished in U.S.A. ii. 233
 Smith, Sir Harry, i. 175
 Smith, Mr. W. H., iii. 97, 177
 Sobraon, battle of, i. 191
 Social Democratic Federation, v. 36
 Social reform in the 'nineties, iv. 175; Mr. Lloyd George and, v. 206
 Socialism, modern, v. 31; and finance, 34
 Society of Victorian days, i. 140
 Solferino, battle of, ii. 197
 Somaliland, protectorate declared over, iii. 144
 Soudan, revolt in, iii. 112; abandonment of, 126; its government handed over to Great Britain, 138
 South African Republic, its birth, i. 175 (*see also* TRANSVAAL)
 Speeches from the Throne, v. 216
 Spencer, Herbert, i. 132
 Spencer, Lord, iii. 176
 "Spheres of Influence," iv. 203
 Spion Kop, iv. 132
 Sponsors to Edward VII., i. 9
 Sport, Edward VII. and, v. 187
 Sports of Early Victorian days, i. 150
 Sprigg, Sir Gordon, iv. 144
 Stambuloff, M., iii. 164
 Stanley, Dean, ii. 33, 69; visit of, to Sandring-

ham, 146; officiates at Prince Alfred's (Duke of Edinburgh) wedding, 151; iii. 30
 Stanley, Sir Henry Morton, iii. 141
 Steam navigation, early days of, i. 112
 Stewart, Rev. R. N., murdered in China, iv. 196
 Stewart, Sir Herbert, iii. 120
 Steyn, President, iv. 152; and South African Union, v. 140
 Stockmar, Baron, i. 29, 58
 Stoiloff, M., iii. 164
 Stolypin, M., v. 78
 Stone of Destiny, the, iv. 103
 Stormberg, battle of, iv. 130
 Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord, i. 167
 Submarine cables, i. 126
 Suez Canal, the, iii. 110, 118
 Sullivan, Sir Arthur, ii. 106
 Sunday observance by Edward VII., ii. 39, 150
 Symons, General Penn, iv. 136
 Syria, iii. 159

T

Taku forts, capture of, iii. 168
 Talana Hill, battle of, iv. 126
 Tangier, William II. of Germany at, v. 97
 Tariff Reform, v. 2, 5, 25, 202, 212
 Tarver, Canon, director of studies, and chaplain, i. 62, 69
 Tasmania, visit of George V. to, iv. 47
 Teck, Duchess of (*see* MARY OF CAMBRIDGE, PRINCESS)
 Teck, Duke of, ii. 166
 Telegraph, the electric, i. 125
 Tel-el-Kebir, battle of, iii. 111
 Temperance Reform, i. 145; v. 197
 Temperance societies, i. 144
 Territorial Army, the, v. 164, 169
 Terry, Miss Ellen, iii. 72
 Tewfik Pasha, iii. 110
 Thames embankment, Edward VII. opens, iii. 88
 Thanksgiving, national, for Edward VII.'s recovery from typhoid, iii. 14
 Theatres, Edward VII. and, iii. 72
 Theodore, King of Abyssinia, iii. 139; his capture of British subjects, 140; suicide of, 141
 Thiers, M., ii. 213, 223
 Thorburn's portrait of Edward VII., i. 14
 Thorneycroft, Colonel, iv. 132
 "Three F's, the," iii. 172
 Throne, the British Royal, iv. 101
 Tibet, v. 71
 Tientsin, treaty of, iii. 168; Boxer fighting at, 206

Times, The, and the Parnell libel action, iii. 185
 Togo, Admiral, iv. 213
 Toski, battle of, iii. 131
 Tower Bridge opened, iii. 199
 Tractarians, the, i. 8
 Trades unions and politics, v. 31
 Trafalgar Square riots, iii. 222
 Trans-Siberian Railway, the, iv. 200
 Transvaal, the, birth of the Republic, i. 175 ;
 British annexation of (1877), iv. 108 ; and
 British suzerainty, 112, 121, 125, 135, 183 ;
 discovery of gold in, 113 ; Uitlander dis-
 content, 113, 115, 117, 124 ; the Jameson
 Raid, 118 ; damages claimed, 123 ; alliance
 with the Orange Free State, 123 ; annexa-
 tion by Great Britain (1900), 136 ; v. 131 ;
 Indians in the, 139 (*see* BOERS, THE)
 Treason Bill (South Africa), iv. 144
 Treaty of London, 1867, ii. 189
 Treaty of Paris, 1871, iii. 159
 Treaty of San Stefano, iii. 158
 Trent incident, the, ii. 16, 23, 231
 Trevelyan, Sir George, iii. 177
 Treves, Sir Frederick, iv. 140
 Trinkitat, battle of, iii. 117
 Trochu, General, ii. 218
 Turkish misgovernment, iii. 150 *et seq.*
 Turner, J. M. W., i. 134
 Tweefontein, battle of, iv. 146
 Typhoid, Edward VII. attacked by, iii. 12

U

Uganda, iii. 143
 Unemployed, the, v. 155
 United States, Irish emigration to, i. 102 ;
 Edward VII. in, 236 ; becomes a world
 power, iv. 226

V

Vaccination, i. 147 ; iv. 180
 Vagrancy Act, the, iv. 178
 Vancouver Island, annexed to British Columbia,
 i. 181 ; George V. at, iv. 57
 Vatican Council, 1869, ii. 205
 Venezuela Question, the, iv. 174, 222, 227 ; and
 Germany, v. 87
 Vengeance, the Army of, iii. 162
 Venice and Italy, ii. 183
 Vereeniging Conference, the, iv. 159
 Versailles, conference of the German States at,
 ii. 229
 Veto Bill, the, v. 192, 223, 225
 Victor Emmanuel of Italy, i. 164 ; ii. 201

Victoria, Princess, birth of, ii. 146
 Victoria, Queen, her early training, i. 26 ; her
 letters quoted, 5, 6, 9, 25, 62, 66, 165 ;
 visits Paris, 84 ; a Continental tour, ii. 41 ;
 her Civil List, 156 ; public discontent at her
 seclusion, 157 ; chilly reception at opening
 of Parliament, 162 ; illness, 164 ; and Mr.
 Gladstone, 165 ; unpopularity in the 'seven-
 ties, 166 ; assumes title "Empress of India,"
 iii. 46 ; her influence, 69 ; sends mission to
 Abyssinia, 140 ; visits Disraeli, 154 ; visit to
 Liverpool, 222 ; opens the Royal Holloway
 College, 224 ; at Birmingham, 224 ; opens the
 People's Palace, Whitechapel, 225 ; lays
 foundation-stone of Imperial Institute, 230 ;
 in Dublin, 238 ; receives Lord Roberts, 238 ;
 her death, 240 ; funeral, iv. 1, 6
 Vienna, visits of Edward VII. to, iii. 20 ; v. 102
 Villafranca, Treaty of, ii. 199
 Villiers, Baron de, v. 135
 Volunteers, the, i. 118 ; review at Wimbledon,
 119 ; the Jubilee review (1887), iii. 230 ;
 service in South Africa, iv. 131 ; merged into
 the Territorial Army, v. 164 ; their func-
 tions, 168

W

Wagner, in London, i. 138
 "Wake up, England !" iv. 60
 Waldersee, Count von, iv. 210
 Wallace, Alfred Russel, i. 129
 Wantage, Lord, i. 89
 War Office, the, iv. 175
 Washington, Edward VII. at, 237
 Watson, Sir Thomas, ii. 18
 Wauchope, General, iv. 130
 Webster, Sir Richard (*see* ALVERSTONE, LORD)
 Wei-hai-wei, iv. 202
 Wellesley, Dean, i. 172
 Wellington, Duke of, and the Chartists, i. 94
 White, Sir George, iv. 129
 Whitworth, Sir Joseph, i. 120
 Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, i. 59 ; ii. 86
 Willcocks, Colonel, iv. 168
 William I., of Prussia, becomes Emperor of
 the German Empire, ii. 230 ; his death, iii.
 214
 William II., German Emperor, accession of,
 iii. 216 ; at Queen Victoria's funeral, iv. 13 ;
 his telegram to President Kruger, 120 ;
 relations with Great Britain, v. 87 ; visit from
 Edward VII., 88, 90 ; visits Morocco, 96 ;
 in Italy, 100 ; meeting with Edward VII.
 at Cronberg (1906), 101, and at Berlin
 (1909), 102

Wilson, Major, his last stand, iv. 114
 Wilson, Sir Charles, iii. 122
 Wimbledon, volunteer review at, i. 119
 Wine and Beerhouse Act, i. 145
 Wingate, Sir Francis, iii. 136
 Winnipeg, George V. at, iv. 55
 Winterhalter's portraits of Edward VII., i. 12,
 14
 Wolseley, Lord, proceeds to Egypt, iii. 111;
 and the Ashanti Campaign, 142; and the
 Zulu War, iv. 109; and the Military Board,
 175
 Workmen's Compensation Act, iv. 173
 Wyndham, the Right Hon. Mr., iv. 184; his
 Land Act, iii. 92; v. 127

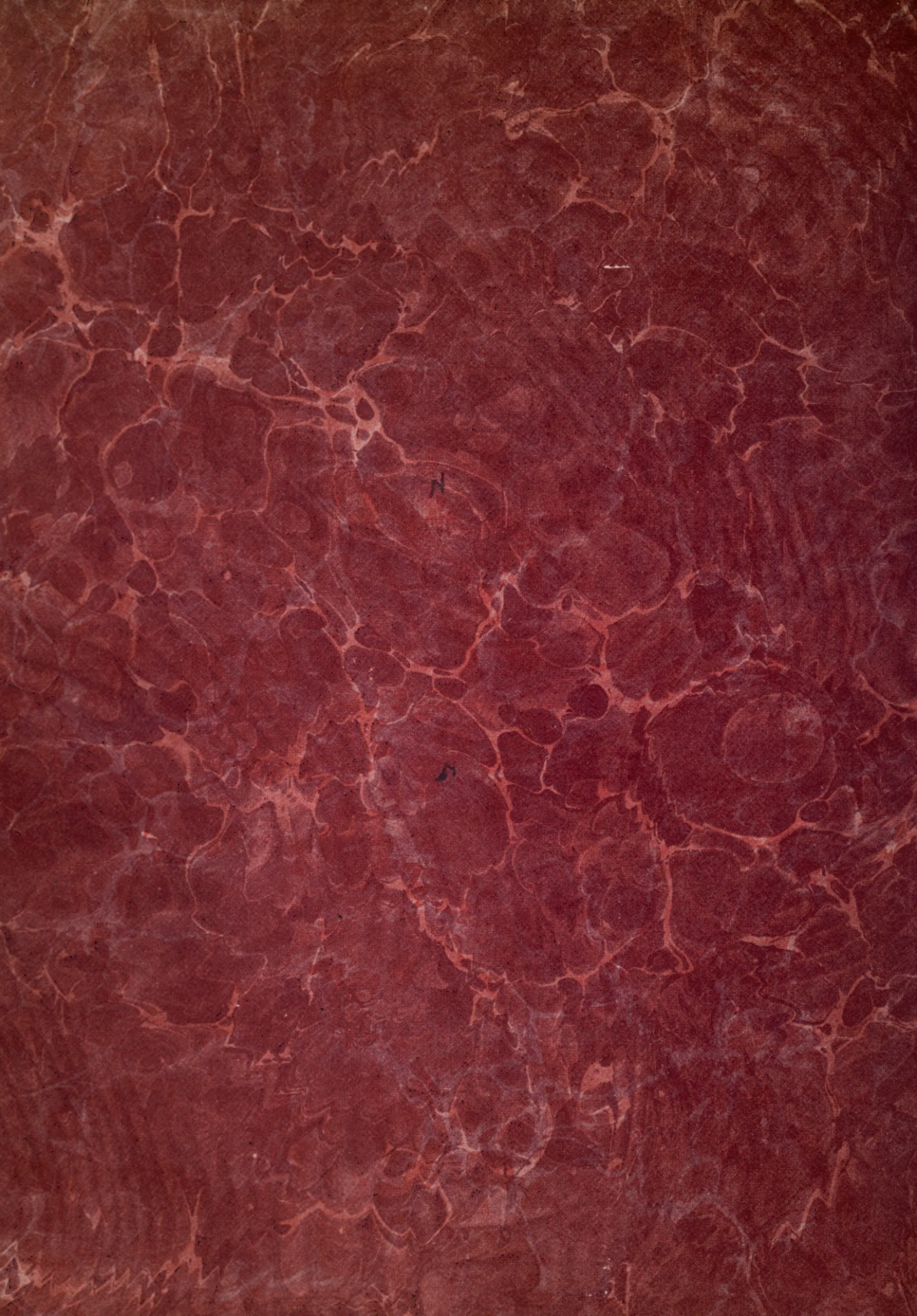
Y

Yachting, Edward VII. and, v. 181, 184
 Yakoob, successor to Shere Ali, iii. 162
 Yeomanry, service in South Africa, iv. 131;
 merged into the Territorial Army, v. 164
 Yorkshire College, the, iii. 98
 Younghusband, Sir F. E., v. 7

Z

Zanzibar, mission to, iii. 28; ceded to British
 East Africa Company, 143
 Zebehr Pasha, iii. 117, 119
 Zulus and George V., iv. 57; the Zulu War, 108;
 rising of (1906), v. 132
 Zurich, Treaty of, ii. 200

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